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Harvard College Library

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From Mrs K. to

Miss Brancroft,

Hampden. Nov 16.

MEMOIRS

OF A

EST-INDIA PLANTER,

PUBLISHED

From an original MS.

WITH A

REFACE AND ADDITIONAL DETAILS.

BY THE

REV. JOHN RILAND, M.A.

CURATE OF YOXALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

LONDON:

MILTON, ADAMS, & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW;

AND J. NISBET, BERNERS STREET.

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'For gold, in fact, though not in name, a slave
The Indian from his family was torn;
And droves on droves were sent to find a grave
In woods and swamps, by toil severe outworn;
No friend at hand to succour or to mourn,
In death unpitied, as in life unblest.
Oh miserable race to slavery born!
Yet when we look beyond this world's unrest,
More miserable then the oppressors than the opprest!

Oh foul reproach; but not for Spain alone;
But for all lands that bear the Christian name:
Where'er commercial slavery is known,
Oh shall not Justice, trumpet-tongued, proclaim
The foul reproach, the black offence the same?
Hear, guilty France! and thou, Oh England, hear!
Thou, who hast half-redeemed thyself from shame:
When slavery from thy realms shall disappear,
Then from this guilt, and not till then, wilt thou be clear.

SOUTHEY—Tale of Paraguay. 1826.

PREFACE.

THE manuscript mentioned in the title having been placed, under certain conditions, at my disposal, is now presented to the public. It is an appeal to the imagination and the passions, conveyed in the form of a narrative, supported by unimpeachable evidence; and aspiring to awaken or increase its readers' sympathy with our colonial slaves. Should any one decline to listen to an address of this kind, he is bound to refuse whatever instruction is offered under a similar shape. The consequence will be, a rejection of the principles taught in the parables of the New Testament; for these also are an appeal to the imagination and the passions; while the miracles of Jesus Christ speak to the senses, and his exhortations to the conscience.

As to the additions made by the Editor to the original papers, they are inserted without any distinctive marks; but for the whole publication he is exclusively responsible. He only begs, that the demerits of the work may be imputed to himself, and its excellencies to another; and, these points premised, all his anxiety is, that the Memoirs, and their appendages, may not injure their great object.

The Abolitionists of the present day, like their predecessors who began the conflict forty years since, have much reason to regret the interference of idle talkers and intemperate writers, with a question quite independent of such allies. With regard, indeed, to those opponents who shelter their indifference, or hostility, under the plea that a good cause has been ill managed; it is not, we trust, too late to remind them, that no person of a serious mind examine a matter otherwise

than on its abstract merits. If the evidences of Christianity itself depended upon the character of many of its adherents, it must long ago have been forgotten among the dreams of imposture. The name of Judas would alone have sunk its loftiest pretensions: and none, who have the least acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History, will need to be informed, that the spirit of the traitor has never been exorcised from the visible church. It is equally notorious, that the Protestant cause has been frequently conducted with the fraud, selfishness, and worldly policy so justly charged upon the Jesuits; and—to come nearer to the bosoms of members who complain of the Anti-Slavery party—the Established Churches of these dominions have been, and are now, defended by sectarian weapons. But, as Henry V. said—Shakespeare being his interpreter—'there is no King, be his cause never so spotless, if it come to the arbitrement of swords, can try it out with all unspotted soldiers.'

Another class of opponents is determined to reject all testimony from witnesses once connected with a system they afterwards endeavour to undermine. On this principle, the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul should be examined with the utmost suspicion and severity; as one of these confessors denied his Master, and the other openly avowed himself to have been formerly a persecutor and blasphemer. By the same rule, the evidence of Mr. Blanco White against Catholicism ought to have been hissed out of court: it is little better than perjury in disguise. But who does not know, that it has always been an established practice with mankind, to receive with enthusiasm deserters from an enemy's camp? Of this, the Archbishop of Spalato, in the seventeenth century, will ever be a memorable example; and, at the present moment, Mr. Blanco White himself is cherished among us—and, I believe, most deservedly—as a faithful witness of what he has seen and heard. To this settled order of things the colonial question has formed, however, a mysterious exception. Certain persons are not to be credited, because they were once planters and proprietors of slaves. Here is

this deviation from the beaten track of the world to be explained?

The subject presents also another mystery. I mean the apathy, and even the impatience and irritability, manifested, with regard to the Abolition, by numbers of the Christian philanthropists of these busy times. Their conduct is a direct contrast to the spirit awakened *throughout their own body*, when the cause of the African was first debated. In 1787, their exertions in favour of the Negroes were unanimous, rapid, and efficient. In 1827, they are either slumbering on their arms: or, in effect, subsidizing the colonists. The circumstance is more extraordinary, as we live in days when activity in doing good—whatever be the motive—is become fashionable. Never was the machinery of benevolence worked with greater skill, precision, and perseverance. But, in some quarters, the cause of the slaves is forgotten, or ridiculed; or it is even opposed by persons so intensely absorbed in schemes of charity, as—for so the accusation runs—to postpone their domestic and more imperative duties till to-morrow. Is this, because the Abolitionists cannot bring forward, on their hustings, stories of triumph equivalent to the splendid success announced at the anniversaries of Missionary and Bible societies? Alas! *our* details are too generally those of languid operation, of retrograde movements, and even of confusion and discomfiture! And why—but, for one reason, because we have so few auxiliaries!

Let it be at length recollected, that the Slave Trade and Slavery are identical; that the earnestness once displayed by the moralists of this country, to annihilate the commerce in human beings, ought to have been continued against the oppression of the same beings, either as transferred from a slave-ship to a slave-colony, or as descended from the exiles of Africa, and inheritors of their affliction. 'I think,' said the late Right Hon. William Windham, 'that too much distinction has been made between two things so closely connected with each other, as Slavery and the Slave Trade. They

are in essence one and the same, and in their nature equally objectionable; and, therefore, I am so far from rejecting the interpretation supposed to arise from the observation of 'my Noble Friend' (the Marquess of Lansdowne, then in the House of Commons), 'that the abolition of the African Slave-Trade will lead to the emancipation of slaves, that I—who, in another view of the thing, may not be so sanguine in my hopes, as to the period of the accomplishment of the object, as some of my friends—like the proposition the better, on account of its having that tendency; for surely the ultimate aim of us all must be to put an end to Slavery, as well as to the Slave Trade. What gentlemen have said, generally, of the Slave Trade, I would say of Slavery; that they are each *malum in se*. One of them,' the trade, 'has been characterized by epithets which I do not think have been misapplied in argument; for the fault is not in the description, but in the thing described *.'

Let the inhabitants of this enlightened empire take a lesson of consistency from their recent liberation of European bondsmen among the Algerines. When Lord Exmouth succeeded, by the bombardment of their fortress, in bringing a despot to terms, what would Europe have said, had he insisted merely upon the extinction of piracy, and left the captives in chains? Among those victims, there *might* have been some even of our own countrymen; taken, we will suppose, in a Lisbon packet, by some enterprising Algerine commander, who had ventured to steer through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to cruize at the very mouth of the Tagus. We may faintly imagine, what thunders of indignation would have rolled throughout the empire at the news, that even a single British family should have been manacled, branded, bastinadoed, and worked in a gang of

* 'Substance of Debates,' 1806.—Similar opinions, relative to the identity of the slave trade with slavery, have been expressed by the Earls of Westmoreland and Liverpool, Earl Grey, Viscount Dudley, and other noblemen and gentlemen. 'Review of some of the Arguments commonly advanced against Parliamentary Interference,' &c. 1823.

White slaves under a Moorish driver! It is nevertheless undeniable, that an Algerine crew have as national and as moral a right to carry away, from the chain-pier at Brighton, a party of fashionables into African bondage; as we, Christian Protestants, possessed ourselves in the days of the Slave Trade; or now retain, in continuing the arrangements of a slave-cultured plantation.

Waving, however, any farther illustration of this analogy, the main inquiry before us is to be considered as emphatically a question of fact. If the colonists can prove that their accusers, or rather the accusers of the West-India system itself—for we do not wish to degrade a national question into personalities*—bring false evidence, the matter is set at rest. Or, if they can shew that decisive measures for the abolition are in progress, and advancing with as rapid a course as the simple equity of the case requires, the friends of the Negroes will silently retire, and deem it worse than foolish to embarrass the movements of the colonial department by untimely officiousness.

In the interval, it is asked, What has been the practical consequence, at the expiration of four years, of Mr. Canning's Resolutions in 1823? The country prefers as just a right to urge this question †, as any other interwoven with its interests. If petitions load the tables of Parliament on such agitated subjects as Catholic emancipation, corn laws, pauperism, and free trade; and if these things are incessantly canvassed at public meetings, and—in respect to the first of these topics—in visitation sermons and charges; why is it, that the investigation of slavery is interdicted, as though it were alone sacred from the most delicate interference on the part of a people, who elect their own representatives, and influence their votes in the senate;—of a people, who, on a thousand other occasions, are practically invited by Government to decide upon the policy of its measures?

* See Note A. † See Note B.

The privileges also of a free press are virtually withheld from the Abolitionists, while open to economists of every other class; so that when Earl Stanhope, Sir James Graham, Major Torrens, and several other gentlemen, published their theories on the corn laws; and some of these in direct hostility to the regulations proposed by the Cabinet; not the most gentle whispers of censure were breathed against *them*, either by ministry or opposition. In point of fact, his Majesty's official advisers, in both Houses, defer to what they expressly call the sense of the country, and to what is said out of doors; so that the Government is practically become the echo of public sentiment.

If men write on slavery, or any other subject, in a seditious spirit, the crime is their own; and they must venture upon the consequence. Yet no overflowings of treason have risen at home. On the contrary, they have flooded the colonies themselves. In the instance of the insurrection against the Wesleyans in Barbadoes, the local authorities, and, in them, the legislature at home, were insulted without disguise. The reception, likewise, of Earl Bathurst's despatches among the colonists has generally excited a spirit of turbulent opposition; an impatience of all controul on the part of the parent country.—Not that the Abolitionists shrink from examining the question politically. They argue, that a sugar monopoly * is ostensibly as unfair as a corn one; as inconsistent with the principles of free commerce; and, by the unequal regulation of bounties and duties on the same articles, as strange and unjust in its operation, as if the treasury were to impose a duty on every load of hay and straw brought to the Haymarket from Surrey; and, at the same time, allow a bounty on all agricultural produce drawn to the same mart from Essex.

But we would principally view the inquiry in its highest relations. And, on this point, the advocates of the heathen Negroes feel difficulties multiplied around them, as they strive

* See Note C.

to confront such of their opponents as profess to be Christians —and who among them disclaim the appellation?—with the Christianity so darkly frowning upon the avarice, despotism, and cruelty which created and sustain the existing economy of the colonies. They feel how coincident with their own opinions on the abstract truth of the question at issue, and with their observation and experience, as connected with a long struggle against a powerful party, is the avowal of Paley, that—'The influence of religion is not to be sought for in the councils of princes, in the debates or resolutions of popular assemblies, in the conduct of governments towards their subjects, or of states and sovereigns towards one another; of conquerors at the head of their armies, or of parties intriguing for power at home (topics which alone almost occupy the attention and fill the pages of history); but must be perceived, if perceived at all, in the silent course of private and domestic life. Nay, more, even *there* its influence may not be very obvious to observation. If it check in some degree personal dissoluteness, if it beget a general probity in the transactions of business, if it produce soft and humane manners in the mass of the community, and occasional exertions of laborious or expensive benevolence in a few individuals, it is all the effect which can offer itself to external notice. The kingdom of heaven is within us. That which is the substance of the religion,—its hopes and consolations, its intermixture with the thoughts by day and night; the devotion of the heart, the controul of appetite, the steady direction of the will to the commands of God—is necessarily invisible: yet upon these depend the virtue and the happiness of millions. This cause renders the representations of history, with respect to religion, defective and fallacious, in a greater degree than they are upon any other subject. Religion operates most upon those of whom history knows the least,—upon fathers and mothers in their families, upon men-servants and maid-servants, upon the orderly tradesman, the quiet villager, the manufacturer at his loom, the husbandman in his fields.'——'The Christian religion also acts upon public usages

and institutions, by an operation which is only secondary and indirect. Christianity is not a code of civil law. It can only reach public institutions through private character. Now its influence upon private character may be considerable; yet many public usages and institutions, repugnant to its principles, may remain. To get rid of these, the reigning part of the community must act, and act together. But it may be long before the persons who compose this body be sufficiently touched with the Christian character, to join in the suppression of practices, to which they and the public have been reconciled, by causes which will reconcile the human mind to any thing, by habit and interest. Nevertheless, the effects of Christianity, even in this view, have been important. It has mitigated the conduct of war, and the treatment of captives. It has softened the administration of despotic, or of nominally despotic governments.'.....'It has greatly meliorated the condition of the laborious part—that is to say, of the mass—of every community, by procuring for them a day of weekly rest. In all countries, in which it is professed, it has produced numerous establishments for the relief of sickness and poverty; and, in some, a regular and general provision by law. It has triumphed over the slavery established in the Roman empire: it is contending, and, I trust, will one day prevail against the worse slavery in the West Indies*.'

In this honest passage, Dr. Paley has pointedly owned the very partial recognition, and almost the non-existence, of Christianity in colonial economy; and has closed his statement by expressing a hope, that what the Gospel once did in an idolatrous empire, it may still accomplish in islands colonized, for ages, by people professing to believe in Jesus Christ! He has, of course, anticipated our main position, that Christianity and Slavery—that is, be it distinctly understood, the cart-whip, demoralizing slavery of the West Indies; and not the milder modifications of bondage, existing by sufferance under the Jewish Theocracy;

* See Note D.

neither such as are known among the nations of Africa *—CANNOT co-exist. They are principles inevitably destructive of each other. If the whole volume of Revelation teach one practical truth more distinctly and repeatedly than another, it is the very one which is most familiarized, and, in the present relation, most forgotten—namely, this: 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.' So taught the Mosaic rule of life; and so taught all its faithful interpreters, till the advent of Him who came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and to equalize the spiritual privileges of mankind by preaching the Gospel to the poor—and none so poor as the heathen exiles in our Christian colonies!

But 'slavery is no longer what it was.' This is the argument, meant to be conclusive, which has led and sustained the guilty attempt of the Quarterly Review to reconcile the British nation to the practices of the sugar islands. We select this journal, as the most powerful and reputable organ of the colonists. Now, against its influence we require no auxiliaries more efficient than what are liberally furnished—when we ascertain the *chronology* of the war †—either by authors

* Stephen, i. 70; and his Appendix, No. II.—'The state of slavery among these wild, barbarous people, as we esteem them, is much milder than in our colonies. No man is permitted to draw blood, even from a slave. If he does, he is liable to a strict inquisition. A man may sell his slave, if he pleases; but he may not wantonly abuse him.' Newton's Works, vi. 535.—'A gentleman, *employed by the Royal African Company*, in 1726, expressly says, "The discerning natives account it their greatest unhappiness, that they were ever visited by the Europeans. They say that....before our coming, they lived in peace; but.... that wheresoever Christianity cometh, there come with it a sword and gun, powder and ball."'—Gisborne's Principles of Mor. Phil. 1798. 208.

† The following is a chronological list of some of the authorities cited in this volume. Those distinguished by an asterisk are avowedly on the colonial side—certain of the rest partially. The Parliamentary returns, as proceeding from colonial agents, may be regarded as favourable to the planters; although they afford

independent of all insular prejudices; or by the planters themselves, whether in the persons of their official agents in Parliamentary Papers, or of writers who have volunteered in their service. In the 58th number of the Review, published in December 1823, we find (485) the following evidence deliberately published:—"'In regard to temporal comforts,' observes a clergyman (writing from Jamaica, in October 1821), 'the situation of the Negroes may be viewed with complete satisfaction.'—'As to the treatment of the Negroes,' writes another clergyman (from the same island), 'I am happy to declare, from ocular testimony, that it generally is humane; and every temporal comfort which their situation demands, is willingly afforded them; indeed, a great proportion of our poor at home might envy their situation.'"—To this anonymous statement, in an anonymous review, it will be perfectly satisfactory, according to the rules

an incredible mass of evidence condemnatory of the practice they describe:—

Ramsay	1784
Newton	1790
Abstract Parliamentary Evidence	1790–1791
*Edwards	1793
*Collins	1804
Pinckard	1806
Chaderton, &c.	1817
*Williamson	1817
*Clerical Evidence in Quarterly Review, Oct.	1821
Mesbry	1822
*Stewart	1823
Cooper	1824
*Barbice Fiscal	1825
Bickell	1825
Coleridge	1826
Parliamentary Returns	1818–1826

It is melancholy to observe the coincidence between the accusations alleged by the first of these witnesses, in 1784, and the concessions appearing in the most recent author, in 1826; a period embracing forty-two years! Mr. Coleridge has disclosed such opinions and facts, as his new friends will scarcely deem a grateful remembrance of their hospitalities.—The dates in the above list are generally those of publication.

of a British court of justice, to oppose testimony from witnesses who give their names. What, then, will be the verdict of the national jury, when we call, first, another clergyman, who adduces evidence directly contrary to his brethren in the Quarterly? Such, however, is the Rev. Richard Bickell, who resided also in the West Indies, and chiefly in Jamaica, from 1819 to 1824—and, of course, during October 1821, when 'the situation of the Negroes might be viewed with complete satisfaction'—yet publishing, on his return to England, in his own name, a volume of evidence utterly subversive of the entire fabric of Negro happiness, constructed by the Reviewer and his assistants!

Our next witness is Mr. Stewart, a colonist, and upholder of colonists. This gentleman directly and indirectly acknowledges, and in some instances execrates, the oppression exercised over the slaves; and this up to the date of the Reviewer's *annus mirabilis*, 1821, and after a long residence in our principal sugar island.

After these appear the unimpeachable authorities of Coleridge, Cooper, Meabry, the Berbice Fiscal, and of the colonial correspondents who furnished the more recent materials contained in the elephantine body of evidence printed by successive orders of the House of Commons: and—be it well observed—all these are *subsequently* to the clerical communications in the Reviewer's article. The testimony of Stewart, Coleridge, the Berbice Fiscal, and the Parliamentary Returns, is also the more decisive, as coming under the class of circumstantial evidence; delivered by witnesses pre-engaged by another party, and constrained, by a kind of cross-examination, to expose the culprit's shame.

But the authority of the Quarterly Review, even if it could repel the onset of the first line of its opponents, would be thrown into the wildest disorder by the advance of the second;—by the very measures of reform proposed by his Majesty's Government *to be* introduced into the slave colonies, pursuant to Mr. Canning's Resolutions of 1823; that is, *after* no such

reform was wanted, because the slaves, about seventeen months before, had celebrated their year of release!—However, the resolutions were—

1. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population.

2. To put an end to markets and to labour on the Sunday and to appropriate that day entirely to rest and recreation and to religious worship and instruction; and, instead of Sunday, which had hitherto been the day on which, in most of the colonies, the slaves had cultivated their provision-grounds, to allow them equivalent time on other days for that purpose.

3. To admit the testimony of slaves in courts of justice.

4. To legalize the marriages of slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

5. To protect the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and its transmission by bequest, or otherwise.

6. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his wife and children, at a fair appraisement.

7. To prevent the separation of families by sale, or otherwise.

8. To prevent the seizure and sale of slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong.

9. To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

10. To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

11. To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority, or as a stimulus to labour.

12. To establish savings' banks for the use of slaves.

Now, all these twelve proposals of 1823 were quite nugatory, if, in 1821, 'the situation of the Negroes might be viewed with complete satisfaction,' and if 'a great proportion of our poor at home might envy their situation.' There is

not a single boon *to be* offered to the Black population in the West Indies, through the operation of these measures, but what is already possessed by the paupers of Great Britain. The Reviewer, with equal consistency, might have asserted the luxurious happiness of the Lancashire weavers, when the clergy, under authority of the King's Letter (January, 1827), were imploring their congregations to save our manufacturers from starvation.—Any further remarks on the character and value of the most powerful and reputable organ of the colonists, would be a waste of ammunition. The whole of its voluminous articles, from the 53th Number to the present date, admit of as easy a refutation as the clerical evidence of October 1821*. Dispassionate readers of such details must consider them as little better than a series of insulting experiments, to ascertain how much will be borne by the common sense and humane feelings of the public;—published, too, by journalists who affect to be devoted to a Church which beseeches the Father of all mankind to *shew pity upon all prisoners and captives, and to defend and provide for all that are desolate and oppressed!*

The Reviewer's conduct will increase the just suspicion of many, that the Abolitionists have stated the case of their clients with almost culpable moderation. Of this the succeeding Memoir is, in a great degree, an illustration. Having myself collated nearly all its citations with original works, it is my decided opinion that the writer might have deepened the shades of his picture; and, indeed, was bound to have done so, had I not also observed, that additional and darker details, from colonial and parliamentary authorities, would have rendered his account utterly unfit for indiscriminate perusal. As it is, he will scarcely be justified by sensitive and delicate readers for having told such a plain tale. Will he not, however, be acquitted of all blame, by those persons who give him credit for exposing sin, not to diffuse

* See Note E.

its pollutions, but—and the Scripture itself will here afford him its own example—to define the malignity of a distemper, which, according to his moral skill, he aspires to heal? He seems to be fully aware of the falseness of the maxim, that 'vice loses half its evil by losing all its grossness.'

The omissions of the Memoir are, in another sense, very considerable. Not a word is said about the collateral topics of slavery in America*, and at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius. Only one brief notice occurs of the incredible system of cruelty practised in the settlement of Berbice. No mention is made of the ignominious degradation of the Coloured people throughout the islands; neither is there any allusion to the history and prospects of Hayti. All these topics, and a thousand more †, might have been brought to bear on the writer's ultimate object. The subject is indeed endless. It already fills a long shelf in the library ‡, and accumulates with a rapidity which must be astonishing to any one who has not marked its later progress. No. 353 of the Parliamentary Returns, ordered to be printed May 9, 1826, forms a volume of not fewer than seven hundred and sixty folio pages! I particularize this by way of suggesting, to the majority of our opponents, the expediency of informing themselves on points where they have already made up their minds, after the perusal of newspapers and periodicals under colonial influence.

With regard to the Memoir: I cannot, of course, answer for the accuracy of the statements included under the term of a personal narrative; having never sailed to the West Indies except in books, nor witnessed my hero's adventures at home. And therefore I leave his readers at perfect liberty—

* This deficiency is amply supplied in the popular pamphlet called 'Negro Slavery;' and also in the excellent 'Letters from North America,' by Mr. Adam Hodgson of Liverpool; which first appeared in the Christian Observer for 1822 and 1823, and were afterwards published, with additions, in two vols. 8vo.

† See Note F. ‡ See note G.

as he himself has done—to be incredulous, except so far as he supports his story by credible evidence. I beg to repeat my opinion, that he might have drawn up a far more formidable indictment; and I shall be surprised indeed, if future dispatches from the Antilles do not effect much more than an authentication of his narrative.

Persons competently informed on colonial affairs will, at this hour, agree in the comprehensive statements of the petition presented to Parliament by the Surrey Anti-Slavery Society,—'That the population of our West-Indian colonies consists chiefly of Negroes, who are either unoffending foreigners, carried thither by force, or British subjects, born within the King's allegiance: That these unoffending foreigners possess rights under the Law of Nations which England is bound to recognise and uphold, as a civilised state, and for the violation of which, in the persons of other foreigners, a British fleet was sent only a few years since to lay the port of Algiers in ruins: That England on that occasion justly resented the barbarous practice, adopted by the Algerines, of converting their enemies taken in war into slaves, as an uncivilized modification of the right assumed by savages of putting their prisoners to death: That British subjects, born within the King's allegiance, and innocent of all crime, cannot be deprived of their civil existence, and reduced to a state of slavery, by any power known to the constitution of this country: That such a power necessarily supposes the annihilation of every principle on which the reciprocal claims of allegiance and protection are founded, and at once destroys the basis of the social compact: That such a power, if it could exist, might reduce to slavery all the born subjects of the King, as justly as any particular portion of them: That while in Russia civil death has been awarded as an appropriate punishment for high treason, and in Algiers slavery is substituted for the savage right of taking the life of a captured enemy; in the West-Indian dominions of the British Crown unoffending aliens and unoffending British subjects are deprived of their civil existence

by thousands and hundreds of thousands, solely for the emolument of private individuals, who, for that purpose alone, by a monstrous and illegal usurpation, condemn their fellow-subjects to a state of irremediable slavery, and extend the dreadful curse to their children, and their children's children: That the claim set up by the West-Indian slave-masters to their fellow-subjects, and to helpless strangers, as their property, rests on no better basis than the claim of robbers and receivers to goods which they have stolen, or purchased knowing them to be stolen: That the crime of depriving an innocent man, whether a foreigner or a British subject, of his civil existence, immeasurably exceeds any one of those descriptions of theft for which the punishment of death is usually awarded in this country, as it includes them all;—that it is one continued system of daily and hourly robbery; wresting from the miserable victim his natural liberty, his rights as a man, as a husband, as a father; his rights as a British subject by the constitution of his country, or as an innocent foreigner by the Law of Nations;—that the crime is nothing less than that of robbing a human being of all his mental and moral energies; of keeping his mind in darkness, lest he should become acquainted with his rights; and of reducing him for all civil purposes to the condition of a murdered man: That the West-Indian Negro, though born to all the privileges of a British subject, is allowed no inheritance but slavery; but if he attempts to assert his just claims he is consigned to the gallows or the stake as a traitor, on the principle by which pirates put to death those who do not quietly submit to their injustice: and thus natural death is added to civil death, and judicial murder to robbery in its most complicated form—to robbery momentarily repeated through a life of terror, and scourgings, and of mental and bodily degradation: That the Petitioners beg leave to observe, that these are no fancied horrors, but positive and admitted facts; and that they are here speaking of the sufferings of innocent aliens, whose privileges are consecrated by that Law of Nations which England has shed her bravest blood to maintain, and of British

subjects born in the King's allegiance, whose rights have the same foundation and are as inalienable as those of every Member of the House: That the Petitioners, regarding the slavery of their fellow-subjects in the West Indies as an outrage upon all justice, and sensible of the duty of putting an end, with as little delay as possible, to a system which is pregnant with such complicated evils, confide in the wisdom of the House for the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for the speedy attainment of that desirable object; but at the same time they beg leave respectfully to submit, that there is one measure, which, while it is unquestionably safe, would also prove a most efficacious corrective of many of the immediate evils of colonial slavery, and might be carried into effect without loss of time—the Petitioners allude to the abrogation of the bounties and protecting duties on sugar: That these bounties and protecting duties prevent sugar, now become one of the necessaries of life, from being imported from various parts of the world, at a price so much below the sugar from the West Indies as to make a difference to the British public of one penny per pound, or about one million and a half sterling on the aggregate annual consumption of the people of Great Britain and Ireland: That these protecting duties have now been in force twelve years, many of them years of great distress to the agriculturists and manufacturers of this country; during which the West-Indian sugar-farmers have received eighteen millions sterling for their sugars, over and above the price at which sugars might have been purchased in the markets of England if the West-Indian planter had not been protected from the effects of fair competition: That it is from the forced and unremitted cultivation of sugar in the comparatively inferior and exhausted soils of the British West-Indian islands, excited by the hope of high profits, that the sufferings of the Negroes chiefly arise; and that, upon the shewing of the planters themselves, this forced cultivation is solely kept up by the artificial stimulus of bounties and protecting duties, which impede the commerce of Great Britain,

and operate as an oppressive tax on the public: That when the exhaustion of the soils, and the ruinous and expensive system of slave cultivation and of non-residence, prevent the importation of sugars from the West-India islands at the price for which they could be obtained from various parts of the world, the petitioners humbly conceive that the West-Indian planters have no just claim to bounties and protecting duties to enable them to continue an improvident speculation: That the Petitioners humbly submit, that the bounties and protecting duties on sugar, for the benefit of a comparatively few individuals, who hold their fellow-subjects in slavery, ought not, in justice to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country, to be continued: That, next to British farming produce, sugar is the chief article of domestic consumption, and ranks among the necessaries of life: That the effect of abrogating the bounties and protecting duties on sugar would be to transfer the cultivation of that article to the East Indies, and other places, where it can be produced by the free labour of native farmers, and at little expense: That this transfer would tend to increase the growth of the proper food of the Negro British subject in the West Indies, diminish his fatigues, his privations, and his sufferings, and, by rapidly increasing the Black population, would so reduce the price of slaves, and facilitate manumissions, that the slave system would gradually become extinct, without violence or commotion: That the Petitioners, therefore, on behalf of the thousands of innocent foreigners, and of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-subjects, forcibly held in slavery; on behalf of the people of England, whose rights and liberties are invaded in the persons of innocent Englishmen, denied that justice which ought to be extended with rigid impartiality to the powerful and to the helpless, to the Black colonist as to the White; on behalf of the King, nearly seven hundred thousand of whose natural-born subjects are wrested from the guardianship of his protecting hand within his own dominions, by those who strip their sovereign of the attributes of his crown, and annihilate

a civil existence of a portion of his people equal in number to the population of a principality; on behalf of the consistency and the credit of the Nation, whose cannon so recently swept the ramparts of Algiers, and dealt death to thousands on the African shore, that a barbarous people might be compelled to abstain in future from reducing into slaves, not the subjects of this country merely, but those of all other European powers, and to act on principles of which Britain is the public champion, and of which her West-Indian slave-owners are as publicly the unpunished and daily violators; on behalf of the suffering manufacturers of England, whose trade with nearly the whole of South America, with Mexico, with Hayti, with China, with New Holland, and above all with India and her one hundred millions of inhabitants, is checked and stunted in its growth, because protecting duties and bounties prevent those countries from sending to England their sugars in exchange for the products of British industry, and this in order that the slave cultivation of the West Indies may be exclusively encouraged; on behalf of every virtue and of every interest that is dear to Englishmen,—the Petitioners implore the House to take into their earliest consideration the repeal of the protecting duties and bounties granted to the cultivators of sugar by slave labour; that, whatever difficulties the slave question may present under other aspects, the people of England may at least be delivered from the bitter consciousness of maintaining, by oppressive and unnecessary premiums, a system of iniquity degrading to the national character, criminal beyond all other modes of robbery and violence, subversive of every legal and every constitutional principle, and equally at variance with the dictates of sound policy, humanity, and justice.'

If I owe any apology for introducing the following papers to public notice, I shall find one of sufficient avail, offered, in the infancy of the West-India discussion, by a late eminent clergyman; who wrote on the subject from long and bitter experience. Mr. Newton says,—'I am not qualified, and if I were, I should think it rather unsuitable to my present cha-

racter, as a minister of the Gospel, to consider the question merely in a political light. This disquisition more properly belongs to persons in civil life. Only thus far my character as a minister will allow, and perhaps require me to observe, that the best human policy is that which is connected with a reverential regard to Almighty God, the supreme Governor of the earth. Every plan, which aims at the welfare of a nation, in defiance of his authority and laws, however apparently wise, will prove to be essentially defective, and, if persisted in, ruinous. The righteous Lord loveth righteousness, and he has engaged to plead the cause and vindicate the wrongs of the oppressed *.'

This is, indeed, the most awful aspect of the whole question. We are a nation of high religious pretensions; and numbers among us are spiritually vain of their country, as having shone so brilliantly, in their view, as the light of the world, and the glory of all lands. One source of this vanity has been the success of our great society in dispersing millions of copies of the Scriptures. But, if those Scriptures be true, what is the meaning of such passages as denounce the vengeance of God upon the *oppressor?* We may suggest to the incredulous reader, the expediency of studying, in the retirement of his closet, only the few texts referred to in the margin †, as a scanty example of the many so thickly strewn throughout the book of God; and of asking himself, after the examination of each, 'Lord, is it I?' He may not be a planter, neither a planter's agent. But in those national affairs which involve religion—and our subject is one of them—neutrality is guilt. It is among the signs of the times, which men of serious minds will observe well, that our stu-

* Works, vi. 524.

† Exodus xxii. 21—24; Jeremiah v. 25—29; xxi. 12; xxii. 3, 13—17; Ezekiel xxii. 7, 9, 12—14, 29—31; Zechariah vii. 9—14; Joel iii. 3, 4, 7, 8; James v. 1—6; Rev. xviii. 13.—See an awakening illustration of this part of the subject in Granville Sharp's 'Law of Retribution, &c.' 1776.

dents of prophecy appear to pass over prophetic denunciations against oppression; as though these might be forgotten in their calculations on the decline and fall of empires, and in their hopes or anxieties respecting the destiny of our own country. The author of 'Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God'—a book not to be mentioned without admiration and gratitude, whatever may be its writer's mistakes, either as a theorist or rhetorican—may be particularized as, in this view, deficient. Mr. Irving tells fearful things in respect to what, as he and many others think, may come upon this land. But will the sorrowful crying of our captives, their sighs and groans, and their bursts of convulsive grief, never be heard in the day, and before the day, when God arises to shake terribly the earth, and when he makes inquisition for blood? It is a solemn question; and we ought to be prepared to answer it. In his wrath he may punish us as a nation; and his own servants may fall in the general calamity. But, even in the hour of his sorest displeasure, he can separate between them and his enemies;—yet let such as now call themselves his servants, beware lest, in that hour, he should find *their* garments stained with the blood of the slain.

We are indeed fully conscious of the possibility of expanding the enormity of any crime beyond its comparative dimensions; and an advocate of slaves may plead their cause against oppressors, till he forgets the very existence of all other modes of sin. But we are also painfully conscious, on the other hand, of the certainty, that the slaves are not allowed, by many, to have a fractional part of the kindness they bestow upon other members of the family of affliction and misery. All we ask is, that the Negroes may have an equitable share. It is too late to plead, that we have not heard their cries: we may have turned a deaf ear, but not before those cries have been heard.

For the rest—'the weapons of *our* warfare are not carnal.' When we look over the Reports of our Societies, and observe the sums collected for their support, we are strongly tempted

to suppose, that the mechanism of religion is religion and that we may almost buy with silver and gold the sal of mankind. But what will all avail, unless we str extend the kingdom of Christ in the spirit of Christ pray for a blessing upon means, which, in themselves, v nothing! Let us apply this to exertions in behalf Slaves; and take courage from the hope, that such as ardently labour for their emancipation will most de implore the common Parent of bond and free to rend efforts successful; and, in His own time, cause all flesh the salvation of God.

Foxall, near Lichfield,
June 20, 1827.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

*** *Although the information, collected in the Notes and Appendix, is generally derived from sources very familiar to such persons as are acquainted with the details of colonial affairs; it is particularly requested, that readers to whom the subject is new will attentively consider this extended illustration of the subject, as confirming the positions in the text, and indeed as decisive of the question between the Abolitionists and their opponents.*

A—*p.* ix.

The Editor begs to offer, to such of his personal friends as are connected with the colonies, the following considerations; which, on their account, he adopts as explaining his interference with what are most erroneously called private interests.—

'We feel for the West-Indian proprietors who reside in England. Between them and the inhabitants of the colonies we see a great distinction. There may be in this body individuals infected with the worst vices of the colonial character; but there are also among them many gentlemen of benevolent feelings and enlarged minds, who have done much to alleviate the condition of their slaves, and who would willingly see the meliorating measures, which his Majesty's ministers have suggested, adopted by the West-Indian legislators. They have scarcely any thing in common with the colonists, or with the scribblers whom the colonists feed and clothe. They have taken little part in the controversy; ashamed probably of the infamous allies with whom they would have to co-operate. But what they have said has, upon the whole, been said manfully and courteously. Their influence, however, is at present exerted decidedly in favour of slavery; not, we verily believe, from any love of slavery in the abstract; but partly because they think that their own characters are in some degree affected by the attacks which are made on the colonial system; and partly because they apprehend that their property is likely to suffer in consequence of the feeling which at present prevails throughout the country. On both points they are mistaken. We are convinced that there is not,

in any quarter, a feeling unfriendly to them, or an indisp
to give a fair consideration to their interests. The hon
uninformed zeal of individuals, may sometimes break fort
intemperate expressions: but the great body of the
make a wide distinction between the class of which we
and the colonial mob. Let it be their care to preserve th
tinction indelible. We call for their support. They a
natural allies. Scarcely have the Ministers of the C
scarcely have the Abolitionists themselves, been more
corously abused by the orators of Jamaica, than those pe
The objects of the two classes are wholly different. Tl
consists of English gentlemen, naturally solicitous to pr
the source from which they derive a part of their revenue.
other is composed, in a great measure, of hungry advent
who are too poor to buy the pleasure of tyranny, and are
fore attached to the only system under which they can er
gratis. The former wish only to secure their possession
latter are desirous to perpetuate the oppressive privileges
White skin.—We entreat these respectable persons to refl
the precarious nature of the tenure by which they hold
property. Even if it were in their power to put a stop t
controversy—if the subject of slavery were no longer to c
the attention of the British public—could they think them
secure from ruin? Are no ominous signs visible in the pc
horizon? How is it that they do not discern this time
the ancient fabrics of colonial empire are falling to pieces.
old equilibrium of power has been disturbed by the introd
of a crowd of new states into the system. Our West
possessions are not now surrounded, as they formerly we
the oppressed and impoverished colonies of a superann
monarchy, in the last stage of dotage and debility, but by
and vigorous and warlike republics. We have defende
colonies against Spain: does it therefore follow, that we
be able to defend them against Mexico or Hayti?'—Edin
Review, No. 82.

'If the philosophy of man,' says Mr. Coleridge, 'and pa
present experience, do not deceive us, it may be confi
predicted, that the West-India islands CANNOT continu
twenty years longer in the state in which they now are.
are mementoes of insecurity on the right hand and on the
and many deep thoughts will arise unbidden in a states
mind, when he muses on the prophecy of Berkeley:—

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past—
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;—
Time's noblest offspring is his last.'

'Six Months in the West Indies.' 2d ed. 1826.

B.—*p.* ix.

swer, equally correct and melancholy, to this inquiry, shed last year, entitled 'The Progress of Colonial Re- drawn from Parliamentary Papers which appeared the 10th of April, 1826. What advance has been ince? 'The very latest example of colonial reform ation is now before us, in the shape of an Act of the e of Jamaica, passed only four months ago; bearing 22d of December, 1826. Of this Act the 37th clause :—"And *in order to restrain arbitrary punishments*, be enacted, that no slave, on any plantation or settlement, of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive than *ten lashes* at one time and for one offence, unless r, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or over- such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall nt; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, ex- dministrator, or overseer, workhouse-keeper, or gaol- hall, on any account, punish a slave with more than *e lashes* at one time and for one offence; nor inflict, nor be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any mber of lashes, on the same day, nor until the delinquent vered from the effect of any former punishment, under a ot less than ten pounds, nor more than twenty pounds, y offence," &c.—Such is the law passed, by the en- l legislature of Jamaica, in December 1826, and which is e to every slave—man, woman, or child—in that island. law the *driver* may inflict ten lashes; and the owner seer, nay, the gaol-keeper and workhouse-keeper, the at- guardian, and administrator, may, each and every one of iflict thirty-nine lashes on any and every slave—man, or child—in the island, without a trial, without the order istrate, for no defined offence, but merely because he ner, &c.) is offended; nor can he, *by any law*, be called er for such conduct. Nay, the clause is framed for the purpose of protecting him against all responsibility for so And yet, in mockery, as it were, this clause is called a *restrain arbitrary punishments!* It is a most singular it in the new rural code of Jamaica, by which this arbi- l uncontrouled power of the cart-whip is established, the *iver* does not once appear: it is studiously withdrawn w.' (Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 23.)

avery exist at all,' says Mr. Macdonnel, *himself a defender y*, 'there must be a very great discretionary power en- to those who have the superintendence of the properties.

It is perfectly idle to attempt to regulate the conduct of these persons in all their minute duties. Power so extensive as theirs must necessarily exist beyond the controul of any law. It is no exaggeration to say, that the happiness or misery of a slave is in the manager's keeping. If he take any dislike or pique to any individual, he can harass the poor creature in a thousand different shapes.'—Considerations on Negro Slavery, &c. 1824. 281.

C.—*p.* x.

'For the express purpose of supporting slavery, we charge a protecting duty of 10*s.* per cwt. on all sugar, and of 28*s.* per cwt. on all coffee, imported from our Indian dominions; and thus force our manufacturers, for the sake of supplying the miserable allowance of clothing to 700,000 slaves in the West Indies to forego the supply of eighty or a hundred millions of people in India.

'Instead of encouraging that competition of free labour, which would as effectually destroy the trade in slaves for the cultivation of sugar, as it has already done for that of indigo, and thus remove the great barrier to our intercourse with 70,000,000 of people on the continent of Africa, we prohibit, by extravagant duties, the importation of any sugars grown there, and we charge an extra duty of 28*s.* per cwt. on all coffee produced in the colony of Sierra Leone, which, by discouraging cultivation, must retard the progress of civilization also.

'A bounty was long paid on the exportation of refined sugar, the effect of which was, to raise the price of all sugar in the British market 6*s.* per cwt., equal to 1,200,000*l.* per annum. At the close of the last session, this bounty was reduced about one half. Now it is clear that the effect of this bounty is not to increase our trade but to lessen it; to make sugar dear to the people of England, and cheap to the people of the continent. And whilst it is on all hands acknowledged that the great expedient for extending our commerce, is to find consumption at home for the produce received in return for our manufactures, we actually are paying our money to transfer this advantage to foreigners, and to facilitate their consumption, while we abridge our own. In short, so far as sugar now comes within the reach of our distressed manufacturers, we thus, in point of fact, are taxing them, in such a way also as to diminish their already too scanty employment!'—(Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 17.—This highly important periodical is ready for delivery on the last day of every month, at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, No. 18 Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchard's, Piccadilly.)

'Though I were even sure,' said the late Rev. John Newton,

'that a principal branch of the public revenue depended upon the African trade (which I apprehend is far from being the case), if I had access and influence, I should think myself bound to say to Government, to Parliament, and to the nation, "It is not lawful to put it into the Treasury, because it is the price of blood." God forbid that any supposed profit or advantage which we can derive from the groans, and agonies, and blood of the poor Africans, should draw down this heavy curse upon all that we might, otherwise, honourably and comfortably possess.' (Works, 1824, vi. 525.)—It is, however, asserted, that the sugar colonies, during the last thirty years, have cost the mother country, at least 150,000,000*l.* in national debt, and 50,000 lives.

The following is an extract from Sir W. Young's West-India Common Place Book:—

Tables, shewing the Mortality of Troops in the West Indies (exclusive of those who fell in action) during seven years, from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, compiled from Regimental Returns collected by John Sayer, Esq. Commissary in the Windward and Leeward Islands during that period.

	European Soldiers.				Negro Soldiers.			Officers.
	Largest Force.	Medium monthly returns.	Died.	Per Cent.	Force.	Died.	Per Cent.	Died.
1796. April	19676	15881	6484	40¼	2495	75	3	226
1797. April	13627	11503	3766	32¼	3080	118	4	99
1798. April	9192	8416	1602	17¼	3055	252	8	38
1799. Feb.	7654	7202	876	11¾	3354	258	7¾	24
1800. Feb.	8840	7890	1221	15¼	4320	286	6¼	58
1801. Feb.	11745	10315	2340	22¾	4604	276	6	104
1802. Feb.	10198	9038	990	11	3840	199	5	41
Original Army	19676		17173					590

D.—*p.* xii.

Paley's Evidences, seventh edition, ii. 376–380.—In the same vol. the author writes, 'The Slave Trade destroys more in a year than the Inquisition does in a hundred; or perhaps hath done since its foundation.' (386.)—Paley was, from the first, a determined opponent of slavery. In his Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, originally published in 1785, he calls our colonial law and practice 'the most merciless and tyrannical that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth.'—'The inordinate authority which the plantation laws confer upon the slave-holder, is exercised, by the *English* slave-holder especially,

with rigour and brutality.' 'But *necessity* is pretended; the name under which every enormity is attempted to be justified. And, after all, what is the necessity? It has never been proved that the land could not be cultivated there as it is here by hired servants. It is said that it could not be cultivated with quite the same conveniency and cheapness, as by the labour of slaves: by which means, a pound of sugar, which the planter now sells for sixpence, could not be afforded under sixpence halfpenny;—and this is the *necessity*.' (19th edition, i. 294.)

E.—*p.* xvii.

The articles in the 58th and 60th Nos. of this Journal are satisfactorily refuted by the author of a 'Review of the Quarterly Review; or an Exposure of the Erroneous Opinions promulgated in that Work, &c.' 1824. The observations in the text might have been spared, as they are designed to subdue an enemy already vanquished. But they appear, if for no other cause, yet for this, to shew what the resources of that hostile force must be, which suffers itself to be dispersed by such different modes of attack. The pamphlet above mentioned defeats the Reviewer, with scarcely any reference to the authorities of which I have availed myself. It was quite independent of them.

The conduct of the Quarterly Review on the subject under discussion, and on some other points of moral feeling, has darkened its character with features it has long been impossible to mistake; and destroyed the influence it once possessed among men of independent principles. Such persons have been relieved by resorting to another Journal, which, without affecting the least respect for religion under any form, has far surpassed its rival; not merely in ability, but in fairness, impartiality, and unshrinking recognition of truth. It has pleaded the cause of the Negroes with an eloquence, vigour of talent, and practical knowledge, all but commensurate with the sublimity of its object. Its last effort, 'On the Social and Industrial Capacities of Negroes,' is a splendid illustration of the justice of these remarks.—(Edinburgh Review, No. xc. art. 7.)

F.—*p.* xviii.

Such as grass-picking (Ramsay, 70–73)—free labour—East India Trade—the Gallifet and Nottingham Negroes—Maroons—our inter-colonial Slave-Trade—Martyrdom of the missionary Smith—and, more especially, the unspeakably terrible details furnished, from year to year, of the ravages of the Trade under French, Spanish, and Portuguese flags; which alone would fill

an ample volume, condensed from the Reports of the African Institution. This department of guilt, indeed, no longer extends to ourselves,—*except* as far as British influence has not been exerted, at the Continental courts, to recal the powers of Europe to their recorded condemnation of the Trade, as inconsistent with every principle of Christianity, and the original rights of human nature.—One subject may, however, be introduced into this note, the consideration of which is thus addressed to public notice in a paper now lying before me:—'With regard to the consumption of slave-grown produce, it has been asked, Which offence is the worst; that of stealing men in the first instance, and then of dooming them and their children to perpetual bondage; or, secondly, that of purchasing the fruit of their slavery?—A parallel inquiry is, What essential difference is there between a coiner, and a circulator of base money—between a thief, and the man to whom he sells his plunder—between a smuggler, and the purchaser of contraband articles?—If *you* were a slave, what would you wish me to do for *you*? Would you say to me, "Do not interfere with the system already established—do not discourage the colonist by refusing to buy his sugars—do not move a finger; but leave *my* miserable case to the care of my owners; who will be sure to go on with the work of mercy, now that the Government at home have recommended them. Do not examine the question narrowly—it is dangerous to follow Truth too closely—you will be derided as having singular notions—you will be pointed at as over-scrupulous, as a great strainer—you will offend, by condemning others?"—Let it, however, be solemnly asked, what plea will be admitted before Him who says, With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again?

'Public remonstrance at length effected the abolition of *lotteries*, though these were directly encouraged year by year by the finance minister. Yet no one complained, that such remonstrance was interfering with politics. No one pleaded, that the contractors for lotteries, with their agents throughout the empire, including the keepers of insurance offices, ought to have been compensated for their losses. No member of the legislature told the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that lotteries had grown up under the protection of the state; and had become a portion of public property and public revenue. If *we* consume Bengal—not Mauritius—sugars, we do not do this as an infringement upon what has been called *the sacredness of property*; but, as so far releasing our consciences from the guilt of supporting a system of cruelty, oppression, avarice, and of refusal to obey the revealed will of God, who declares, "Woe to him that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work" (Jer. xxii. 13.)

'The moment the West Indians liberate their slaves, we will give *their* free produce the preference. They will have laid

upon us the obligation to come first to their market. For who can better deserve our assistance, than those who, having abandoned the principles and practice of a guilty commerce, confess their crime, and enter upon a new and honourable career? In the mean time, our averment is, that *in proportion to the consumption of slave-grown produce, is the amount of human misery among the Negroes of the sugar islands, and Demerara;* and the inference is inevitable.—"If," writes one of the *few* efficient and unwearied friends of the oppressed—"if in Demerara the slaves decrease rapidly, while in the Bahamas they increase as fast as they decrease in Demerara, what is the grand cause of this difference? It is that the soil of Demerara is so rich as not only to be capable of sugar culture, with all its attendant oppression, but to make that culture a source of large comparative profit to the planter; while the soil of the Bahamas is only fit for the growth of pasture and of provisions, and perhaps of a little cotton.—Again; why does the population even of Barbadoes increase as compared with that of Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Trinidad, but because the soil of these three islands is more productive than that of Barbadoes, and therefore affords a stronger stimulus to the rigid exaction of slave labour, and to the adoption of that species of cultivation, which in rich soils is most profitable to the master, while it is the most destructive to the life and comfort of the slave?—Every proprietor of a cotton mill, and every post-horse master in the kingdom, fully understands the principle on which this apparent anomaly proceeds. A high profit on the manufacture of cotton goods, will infallibly abridge the duration of the machinery which produces them. A contested county election will probably kill or injure more horses in a month, than at another time would be killed or injured in a year. The profits, indeed, of the weaver, in the one case, and of the post-boy in the other, might, and probably would, increase with the profits of their respective masters. So also would those of the Negro labourer, if he were a free man, receiving wages in proportion to his exertions. But the Negro labourer is a slave, and receives no wages. He is the machine worn down by friction; or he is the post-horse excited to undue and prolonged muscular exertion, by the whip and the spur, in order to swell the gains of his owner."—And thus our consumption of western produce wears down the human machinery, of which we are the moving power! It was stated officially in the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, that the amount paid as duty on British plantation sugar, last year, covering drawbacks, &c. was 5,500,000*l.*; a greater sum than, since our connection with the West Indies, has been ever paid in one year.'

G.—*p.* xviii.

From the vast variety of Anti-Slavery publications, the following may be selected, as containing a short, though diversified, account of the question.—1. 'Negro Slavery, &c.' 2. 'The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves, &c.' 3. 'England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies; by James Stephen, Esq.' 4. 'Relieve the Oppressed, a Sermon; by Charles Townsend, M. A., Rector of Calstone, Wilts; and perpetual Curate of West Bromwich, Staffordshire.'—The first two of these pamphlets describes slavery as it is, and chiefly from the reports of its own patrons. The third examines, with the writer's characteristic energy, the iniquity of the system; the inconsistency, fraudulence, and partiality of the measures devised for its support, and its ominous aspect on the prosperity of the empire. The fourth is a serious address to British Christians, on their duty with regard to the Abolition, pointing out by what means they may promote that event, and reproving the supineness or hostility of such persons as may say—in the language of the preacher's apposite motto—'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear.'—Mr. Townsend has the honour of being the first clergyman who has published a sermon on the emancipation, temporal and spiritual, of our enslaved fellow-subjects.

MEMOIRS

OF A

WEST-INDIA PLANTER.

At this late hour of the debate on the colonial question, it would be idle to affect any novelty either of argument or illustration. My own share in the conflict shall appear in the form of a personal narrative; interspersed with such remarks and details as naturally arise in the course of the story.

As to my fidelity,—I only beg, that my statements may be examined and compared with such parliamentary and authentic documents as are already before the public; many of which are brought forward in the succeeding pages, directly to confirm my own account. I am not, indeed, conscious of having deviated from simple verity; but would yet say, with old Richard Baxter, 'that, having now written this history of myself, notwithstanding my protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the truth, I expect no more credit from the reader, than the self-evidencing light of

the matter, with concurrent rational advantages from persons and things, shall constrain him to*.'

My school and college adventures may probably be censured as too prolix; but they are connected with the main subject, and only introduced as a kind of frame-work to the picture. The reader has my full consent to pass them over,—provided he will seriously attend to the object of the memoir; and add, or double, his exertions to effect the entire abolition of British slavery; and to compensate—in a *spiritual* sense—our slaves for past and present injuries, by giving them the full liberty and light offered to all mankind in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

I was born on the 8th of July, 1778, on an estate in the island of Jamaica which shall here be called The Lagoon; from the circumstance of its being indeed bordered by a river expanding itself, for about a mile, into a narrow lake. On the banks of this water stood my father's house. It was built in such a manner as to sustain the shock of hurricanes, and the attack of slaves in the event of an insurrection: the stone walls of the lower story were therefore perforated with loop-holes for musquetry.

I left the island at too early a period of life, to be able to paint either its natural or moral scenery, beyond the boundaries of the estate, from any very distinct recollections of my own. But, among other things, I remember enough to authenticate the statement of Mr. Stewart; that 'the very children, in some families, are so used to see or hear the Negro servants

* 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' 1696. 136.

whipped for the offences they commit, that it becomes a sort of *amusement* to them*.' I have also a vivid remembrance—and Mr. Stewart writes to the same effect—that a female cousin of mine, who in her childhood lived in the family, and enjoyed all the privileges of a daughter, had a little Negress of her own age pointed out to her as one destined to be her future waiting-maid; and who, in consequence, became the victim of the young lady's first efforts at tyranny.

As to myself, I was an only child; and indulged, without limit, in all the caprices of a favourite. My parents, kind and humane as they generally were to their slaves, yet allowed me to insult, strike, and kick them as I pleased. I used to think them on a level with the mules and horses on the estate, and equally below any sympathy of mine. I recollect, however, being on one occasion very sorry on seeing the operation of branding performed upon a newly purchased set of Negroes of both sexes, and of various ages. One of the party, a boy of fourteen, shrieked and twisted himself in such a fearful way, and, at the same time, looked so piteously at me, that I began to feel frightened and sick; and left the place in haste; not without being openly derided by the White owner for what he called my babyish feeling. I was then between seven and eight†.

Much as I despised and abused the mass of the Black population, there were, nevertheless, two of our domestic slaves, who possessed over me an amazing, and

* 'View of the Past and Present State of Jamaica;' Edinburgh, 1823. 170.

† See Appendix I.

one of them an awful, influence. The first of these was my nurse, called Mahali; the other went by the name of Daniel. Mahali was an extraordinary favourite with my parents; and, having been imported from Africa at the age of sixteen, was well acquainted with all the customs and mythology of her native country. Her chief business in the family was to attend upon myself; and when she wandered with me to the cane-pieces, pimento walks, and along the lake, Daniel always attended with a large umbrella.

The power of my nurse on my infant mind partook, as already intimated, of something supernatural. I was indeed, at times, insolent even to *her;* but I kept all her secrets; and they were such secrets as children ought never to know, much less to keep. But a kind of mysterious terror, which she had the power of inspiring, obliged me to be silent. She had filled my mind with terrible stories of witchcraft and sorcery: and I would do and suffer any thing for her, if she would promise to sit by me at night when I went to bed, and not let in to me the evil spirits. She used to tell me, that the dark shadows of the bushes on the lawn, when the moon shone, were spirits. In fact, she, on some occasions, almost *put me into obi**.

Daniel was much younger than Mahali, and perhaps ten years older than myself. He was a remarkably fine-looking youth; active, lively, and, what I may call, innocently mischievous. He was always getting into scrapes, which indicated no malignity of intention, but were still productive of much trouble and vexation,

* See Appendix II.

especially to my nurse, to whom he was a kind of sub-slave. Mahali frequently disciplined him with a switch, and now and then went so far as to shake at him an ebony bush; but, on the apparition of the last-mentioned terror, he always managed to run away, till his mistress's anger was assuaged, and there was nothing to fear but the switch. He had been taken for a slave in Guinea when about twelve years old; and my father had bought him immediately on his being sold at Port-Royal. He retained a strong recollection of Africa; and told me much respecting the animals found in the woods surrounding his native village, and the various birds also inhabiting the trees; explaining the various exploits of his earlier days; and adding, no doubt—just like the school-boys of the British islands—many circumstances utterly false; but, as he judged, calculated to raise his own importance.

This sort of conversation was, of course, far less injurious than the details of Mahali. There was yet a considerable mixture of evil with what were otherwise innocent and even useful stories: but Daniel was as uncorrupt as any one could well be, who, to that hour—for a single word of religious instruction was never breathed on the estate!—was wandering in the thick gloom of Paganism. From my familiarity with him and my nurse, I certainly might have derived much serious injury; had not I been diverted from dwelling long on the bad parts of their communications, by the wild gambols and entertaining stories of Daniel; and not unfrequently by really pathetic tales told by Mahali, concerning—what I have since partially witnessed!—

the sufferings of her compatriots on the shores of Africa, as well as during the middle passage; and afterwards on the plantations of the Sugar Islands.

Another thing was in my favour: In childhood my mind was remarkably versatile. I never dwelt long on any subject. So I heard, and did not hear; I understood, but did not understand. I put few things together, unless they had a direct reference to my amusements; and, therefore, from evil communications I did not gather such deductions as might have been supposed. The impressions of such matters, if I except the bed-time dread of super-human visitations, were quickly erased. This state of mind was so far a blessing to me in my childhood; though it was a disadvantage when I came into better society.

When seven years of age, a maternal aunt of mine, then finally leaving the colony for England, offered to take charge of me, and to superintend my education. The proposal was ultimately accepted; and, in the course of 1785, we embarked for Liverpool. Poor Daniel climbed one of the loftiest trees of a tropical country, and watched the departure of the ship, till the mast-head sunk below the horizon. We had previously parted on the deck of the vessel; from which also I had watched *him*, till his figure vanished into the obscurity of distance.

We had a prosperous voyage. My aunt retired to Bath; and with her I wasted the next four years among the heartless dissipations of fashionable life; my education being almost entirely neglected. I went irregularly, it is true, to a day-school, where I learned a

little Latin, and less Greek; and where I also was exposed to more vice than had ever been whispered to to me by the Heathen slaves at home.

At length I was providentially placed under the care of an excellent clergyman in Herefordshire. He resided in a beautiful village encircled by a range of softly-swelling hills; some of them clothed with wood; and the remainder of their surface distributed into sheep-walks and orchards. Ravenswood—for so shall I call it—is one of the primitive villages yet existing in this land of steam-engines and manufactories. It was an irregular street of farm-houses and cottages, with detached hamlets. On an elevated point of land stood the church; and near it the vicarage—a wide, scrambling, old-fashioned dwelling, which did not contain a single room in a direct line with the next. At the door of this house was I deposited, and received by the vicar's son. He led me into a large room bearing the double character of hall and parlour; and here the family were at dinner. It consisted of the father, who was to be my new tutor, and his lady, who had spent many long years in domestic duties, and in kindness to her husband's poor parishioners. Then there was one daughter, who appeared to have passed her thirty-fifth year; but it was hard to discover her age, or to read her countenance, on account of the strong marks of small-pox—for the star of Jenner had not then risen in the neighbouring county. I observed also ten boys, all older than myself.

I was kindly welcomed by the venerable couple, and by the daughter also; but as to the latter, I felt that I did not much like her. When the cloth was

removed, and grace said—which, by the way, was a ceremony entirely new to me—the boys were about to leave the room; when Dr. S—— called the eldest to him, and, placing my hand between his, said, 'Frederic, I commit this little man to your especial care—you shall be his guardian.' The young man smiled and bowed; squeezing my hand, and looking at me with an expression of kindness, such as I have never forgotten. He led me out of the room, through an old porch, into the church-yard, over which my future companions were already dispersed, jumping from one grave-stone to another; and making all the neighbours sensible, by their shouts, that dinner was over at the vicarage. As soon, however, as Frederic and his charge appeared, they all flocked around us, and began upon me. 'Well, little Mungo,' said one, 'how do you like us? do you mean to sport Tommy Merton among us, and play the gentleman?'—'Don't you come,' said another, 'from where they make sugar, and boil it down in black men's blood? How many slaves does your father flog to death every year?'—and so on they went, till Creole feelings began to crimson my cheeks; and, looking up to Frederic, I said, 'Is all this right, sir?'—'Come, come,' said he, 'not another word more of this: let the youngster have fair play. Here am I'—added my protector, drawing himself up to shew that he was taller than the rest—'and I would wish you to understand, that this little boy is to be *my* slave, and no one shall bully him but myself: so now, that matter being settled, please to draw off to the gardens.' *Conticuere omnes!* away we all marched, across the church-yard, to a stile overhanging a deep lane, over

which we severally scrambled; and on the other side of the lane was a patch of ground, subdivided into small gardens; some of them looking flourishing, like a sugar estate where the slaves are kindly treated; and the rest appearing as though they were worked by compulsion. Altogether it was a sweet pastoral retreat; and there I afterwards spent many happy hours, and in one remarkably hot summer raised some almost ripe specimens of maize.

Our establishment could hardly be called a school. It was like a large private family. We divided, with the inviolable regularity long maintained by Dr. S—, our days between study and play. My protector kept over me an eye so vigilant, as prevented me from too much intercourse with the rest of the boys; some of whom were not very safe companions. Frederic well knew this; and he soon also discovered that I had been initiated into mischief at Bath, though not to such a degree as to place me on the guilty level attained by one or two of the pupils under the roof of the vicarage. If I may so speak, he was just in time to save me. And such was the vigour and perseverance which characterized his efforts to enlighten and purify my mind, that I gradually seemed to forget what had passed before. Never will be blotted from my grateful memory what I owe to that young man; nor have I lost the distinct remembrance of the various methods he took to open my heart to the knowledge of religious subjects. When I first came to this school, I scarcely even knew that there was a God; and of his attributes I was utterly ignorant. Natural religion had done nothing for *me*. If my mind *had been* a sheet of white

paper, it would soon have been covered by other characters than those of virtue. But—

> 'Dim as the borrowed beams of moon and stars,
> To lonely, weary, wandering travellers,
> Is reason to the soul: and, as on high
> Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
> Nor light us here; so reason's glimmering ray
> Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
> But guide us upward to a better day!'

I saw very little of my aunt after I had been once placed at school; where I generally spent the holidays. She married soon after our first parting at Bath, and became absorbed by new interests. She wrote now and then; and regularly sent me a half-yearly cake—an event of some importance in our society, and generally productive of a half-holiday. It was on one of these occasions that Frederic obtained permission from our tutor to have a gipsy-party among the hills. So away we all rambled, and found ourselves quickly at the remains of a Roman camp, situated on one of the surrounding elevations. Thence we descended, visiting in the course of the afternoon many a bosky nook, and green recess; and, towards six in the evening, sat down on the grassy bank of a brook which murmured along a rocky channel, as it hastened to its confluence with a river in the vale beneath. Here were distributed slices of the cake, together with other contents of a well-stored basket.

While we were eating, the sounds of distant music were heard. I had always been a lover of music; and melody, however simple, thus stealing unexpectedly

on the ear in a lovely solitude, had an extremely impressive effect. The strain no sooner arrested us, than we were all attention, and continued to be so till the invisible minstrel was silent. 'The wood nymphs are surely regaling us with some of their harmonics,' said Frederic; while I, having just stolen a fragment of Milton from my Poetical Preceptor, ventured to lisp out, 'Yes, sir: it says, you know, "And as I wake" —but it will do at any time—

> ——————"Sweet music breathe,
> Above, about, or underneath;
> Sent by some spirit to mortals good,
> Or the unseen genius of the wood."'

As the titter, occasioned by this effort, subsided, we saw the genius approach under the form of a dark figure threading the mazy pathway among the bushes; and presently appeared, in poor apparel, an elderly looking Negro led by a dog held by a string;—a circumstance which made us understand, some time before we could distinguish the man's features, that he was blind. Under his arm he carried a violin; and, no doubt, had been apprised of our being by the brook-side by the wild wit and laughter of a school-boy party.—'Good day, little gentlemen; good day, my little masters'—was his first salutation, as he addressed us, in rather a foreign accent, but in better English than is commonly used by Negroes. 'Are you,' he continued, 'inclined for a little music? If so, poor blind Negro will be glad to serve you.'—His proposal was carried by instantaneous acclamation; but, before he began to play, Frederic proposed that he should have an equal

share with ourselves of the banquet; the poor dog also drawing a high prize in the lottery of the day, in the shape of chicken bones, and fragments of all the stores in the basket.

While the Negro was regaling himself with an appetite plainly indicating that our hospitality was most acceptable, the boys were plying him with such volubility that it was impossible for the stranger to hear, and much less to answer them. Frederic, however, called us to order; and he was allowed to eat in peace.

In the mean time, I drew closer to our new friend, with feelings which the reader may readily interpret. I had never before seen a Negro—except Daniel and Mahali—but as an animal made for my use, like the brutes that perish! But already the Christian instructions of my protector had taught me, that God had made of one blood all nations, without distinction of colour or descent; and I sat down by the Negro, blushing at the remembrance of the time when I insulted and struck, with a child's petulance and passion, his brethren in the house of their bondage. I ventured to touch his sleeve; and a ragged and thread-bare sleeve it was; and whispered in his ear, 'What is your name, sir?'—'My name is Cæsar, little massa.'—'And where do you come from—and where do you live?'—'From Africa, little gentleman—and I live in the cottage just by; and I have lived there some years. And I live by my music. Poor blind Negro can do nothing but play on his violin; and this little dog, poor Rover, is my guide about the country.'—'But how came you here?' asked Frederic; 'have you no parish, no friends?'—'Sir, said Cæsar, 'I was sold as a slave when about twenty-

five years of age. I was carried to Guadaloupe, and sold to a French gentleman, who brought me to France. In his family I learned this music; and was not used ill, either there or in Guadaloupe *; but, as we were returning to the island, we were overtaken by a storm in the Channel, and wrecked on the coast of England. I know not if any lives were saved but mine; but I got safe to land, contrived to buy this violin, and wandered about, leading a weary life; for this country is too cold for poor Negro. At last I got a place in an inn stable; served a full year, and gained a settlement; and might have done very well, but this blindness came on. And then the good Christian people placed me in a cottage not far from this spot, and ordered me two shillings a week; and I get what I can by my violin. And so you see, gentlemen, I do very well; though I sometimes could eat more than I have: and it is sad, very sad, never to see the sun, or my companions' faces; or the flowers, shrubs, hills, and woods; and this brook, all bright and sparkling as I know it is—and the cold, the cold!—it makes me mourn for my country!'

'Well,' said Frederic; 'but the English have not been unkind to you, my friend; and we cannot help the cold of our climate.'—'True, massa, true; I was not complaining; I was only telling my story; and, if you please, you may ask if I have told the truth at the cottage just below: they have known me there some years.'—'I believe,' said Frederic, 'you say quite true; indeed, I have heard of you before: but I much wish to ask, do you go to any place of worship? I

* See Appendix III.

fear you are never seen at church.' — Cæsar shrugged up his shoulders with a kind of French air and grimace, which, from the deadness of his sightless eyes, was not to be understood. 'But don't you suppose and believe,' said Frederic, 'that, although you are a Black man, and blind, you have a soul to be saved or lost,—there is no colour in souls.'—'Ah, sir,' he answered, 'what do I know about my soul? I was never told any thing about it in Guadaloupe or France: we used, I remember, to go to—I think they called it Mass*—and there was music, and words in a tongue which the people themselves could not understand; but I never was taught about my soul, which, as you say, must be either saved or lost; and, since I came to England, I remain as I was. I never learnt book, and I have no clothes to come to church in; which indeed is the reason why they never go from the cottage—except on club-days; and then, massa, I come too, and fiddle with the band.'

There was now a pause; but in a few minutes interrupted by the Negro, who said, in continuation, 'Yet sometimes, when I am alone with my dog, I have had some thoughts: and since I have been thus blind, I have wished and looked for a time when my eyes might be opened; and I might return to my country,

* Whatever inutility there might be in a formal attendance at Mass, let us, at least, do the French government and colonists the justice to remember, that Romanism was the *only* form in which Christianity was known to the masters of slaves themselves; and, wretched as this form is, it yet retains an acknowledgment of the fundamentals of the Gospel. The co-existence, in the Missal, of errors subversive of such a foundation, is another point of inquiry. At any rate, the French slaves were indisputably better treated than our own.

and see my little son—but I know not how this can be—and yet I think it will be too—somehow I do—and I have also thought, that I ought to be better than I am; for there are good people, who are very different from others; and a man once solemnly told me, when I lived at the inn, that we shall all live for ever, either in happiness or misery; and he wished me to try to make sure of the happiness. I thought his words very deep; but they were soon forgotten; and I found that the man was laughed at in the town for his good words, except by people like himself.'—'Well,' said Frederic, 'come next Sunday to our church, and you shall have a good dinner afterwards—and now you shall play us a few tunes.'

The next Sunday morning we watched for Cæsar out of our study window, opening upon the churchyard. Our friend appeared at the proper time, with his dog, and in his only dress. He sat on a grave stone for a few minutes, when Miss S— came out, bade him welcome, and gave him a bason of bread and milk. I have before said, that there was nothing to attract the eye to this lady. Her person was plain, and her manner without polish; and yet I had not been a fortnight at the vicarage, before I began to love her; for though she promised nothing, she supplied every thing which could safely gladden life. Her whole heart and faculties were devoted to the service of others.

When I first came to school, I was put to sleep in a small room where I had no companion but Frederic. I retired at eight, and he did not come till ten. The intervening hours were at first dreadful to me; for in them recurred the terrors originally inspired by Mahali;

and I was afraid to own my alarms, lest my school-fellows should laugh at me. They were, however, discovered by the sagacity of Miss S—; and, in consequence, she used to come, night after night, to quiet my apprehensions; and sat by the bed telling me of what I owed to my Saviour, and mingling her teaching with stories of good children who lived and died well; and thus co-operated with the faithful Frederic in drawing my attention to Divine subjects. I loved her beyond every body in the world; and wondered how I could ever have disliked her; and I needed no other punishment for my faults, than to be told that she would not come and see me at night.'——But, to return to my Negro. No sooner did I see Miss S— take the bread and milk to Cæsar, than, drawing back from the window, I exclaimed, 'Now I am glad!' and gave a spring over a chair. 'Glad of what?' said Frederic. 'Glad that Miss S— is taking care of Cæsar; for I know he will do well now.'

At church I had the pleasure of seeing my friend—I was not in the West Indies!—at the house of God. The sermon was that day by Dr. S—; and was as plain as it ought to have been for a rustic congregation. It was on the subject of the kingdom of Christ on earth; and perhaps the sight of the blind heathen, sitting on a bench in the aisle, prompted him to anticipate, in his address, the day when the most benighted outcasts of mankind should be gathered within the fold of the good Shepherd. At that time, the Christian world, with very slender exceptions, all slumbered and slept, as to any effort made to evangelize the children of ignorance. But the preacher had a mind of large

discourse; and, as 'coming events cast their shadows before,' he was too quick-sighted not to foresee something of what has been done in our own time*. The attempts then beginning to be made towards abolishing the Slave Trade, encouraged him to hope that his countrymen were awaking out of sleep; and '*now*,' he said, 'is the salvation of the heathen nearer, than when I first thought of mine!' It was an allusion to a familiar text in the Epistle to the Romans; and I have never since attended church on Advent Sunday, without thinking of that memorable Sabbath, when Cæsar first heard the still, small, voice of the Gospel, whispering pardon and peace through the sacrifice and death of Christ. After service the Negro partook of the servants' dinner at the vicarage, and from that day he was our regular Sunday visitor. I was permitted, at my own request, to read to him after evening service; and, young as I then was, I soon found the return of this little kindness into my own bosom; for 'he that watereth, shall be watered himself.'

As time rolled away, an intimacy between this exile and myself was formed so closely, that Dr. S——, without pretending to prophesy, foretold the union would not be dissolved, when I had finished my education, and returned to Jamaica. But of this in the sequel.

I shall now relate parts of Cæsar's history; not in his language, neither as detailed at one interview; but as digested by myself—without, I trust, any material inaccuracy—from what he told at various times, either to me alone, or in the company of others.——'I was born,'

* See Appendix IV.

said Cæsar, 'in a kingdom of Africa far distant from the coast. My birth-place was a village situated in the midst of a thick wood; through which there was a narrow winding path, not easily to be found by the enemy—I say, the enemy; because, remote though we were from the sea-shore, the slave-traders, by means of their agents, made frequent incursions into our kingdom, and we all lived in perpetual exposure to their violence.—Ah, sir, every one still loves his native land; the places where his fathers lived; the trees, flowers, and animals: and I think with pleasure now even upon the dreadful snakes, because they belong to my country. God made our part of Africa such as any man might love. The sky is not there constantly covered with cold clouds, and always dropping with rain; though we had our rainy seasons; but, then, they were more regular, and we knew when to expect them. The sun there does not bathe its beams in mists and fogs, but pours its kindly heat on all things: and you can't imagine how fast it makes the plants grow. The wide-spreading trees give cool shades, superior—but you will smile at me—to the finest palaces I ever saw in Europe. All was delightful, except the curse of this Slave Trade; and that broke in upon all our comforts*. The country was made miserable by incessant treacheries. We knew not whom to trust; and some of our chiefs, who carried on a brisk commerce in this way, were always entangling us, and enticing us into what they made crimes, in order to have an excuse for selling us into

* See Appendix V.

bondage. They first made us bad, and then punished us for being so. I do not say that we otherwise lived in innocence. No; far, very far from it! We were like the rest of mankind, and sinned in our own way; but—I hope, sir, you will excuse my saying so—I do not think that we were at all worse than you in this country; and especially when I take into the account, that *you* are all living under the light of the Gospel, and *we* had never so much as heard of the name of Jesus Christ. I do not mean to say that English people commit exactly the same enormities that we did; for, as I said before, different nations have their own ways of sinning; but the amount of actual guilt may be precisely the same. In short, I used to say to myself, What are these Christians the better for all their churches, and good books—and complaining also, as they do, of the wickedness of the Blacks!*——However, let me go on with my

* Had Cæsar been equally familiar with the manners of high life, either among the aristocracy, created in the West Indies by wealth and local influence, or within the fashionable circles at home, he might have defended his views of Black and White, plebeian and patrician, depravity, by an apology furnished in the following lines:—

'Yet why, you ask, these humble crimes relate?
Why make the poor as guilty as the great?
To shew the great, those mightier sons of pride,
How near in vice the lowest are allied;
Such are their natures, and their passions such,
But these disguise too little, those too much:
So shall the man of power and pleasure see
In his own slave as vile a wretch as he;
In his luxurious lord the servant find
His own low pleasures and degenerate mind;
And each in all the kindred vices trace,
Of a poor, blind, bewilder'd, erring race;
Who, a short time in varied fortune past,
Die, and are equal in the dust at last.'

Crabbe's Works, 1823; i. 22.

own story. I married. Benneba was very young when I took her to my house. We lived happily for a year or two—the happiest time of my life—and had one child. I have tried to live those days over again since. People say that Negroes have not the same feelings as the Whites. But how could our little ones be reared, if we had not the same natural love as other parents have? Even little Black children cannot be reared like the lambs and calves of the field. Yet—this cruel Slave Trade!—one of its fruits was, that African fathers and mothers were almost forced, as it were, not to care so much about their offspring, when they knew that they might be sold for slaves. Indeed, there used to be among us such a feeling of insecurity (rather, such a certainty of losing some, at least, of our comforts) that there was a kind of desperation, or despondency, or bitterness of soul, which made us often very, very wretched indeed. So, take all things together,—our sunshine, and beautiful trees, and rich fruits, were nothing to us, when Slavery was like to be our portion. It puts me in mind of a story, sir, you used to read me, of a certain man who sat at a rich feast, but with a swordoverhis head, hanging by a single hair. England is indeed cold, too cold; but, then, no man here fears his neighbour. Here are no slave-merchants. Every poor man knows that no one dare steal away his wife and little child; and he loves his home, and children, and wife, because they are his own; and he works to give them bread; andhe loves them because he works for them, and works for them because he loves them: and so his love grows.——But I am forgetting myself. My wife bore a son, lived three months, and died.

The child—we called him Quashee—grew a fine boy; and, having no mother, lay in my bosom every night; and when I went out I carried him with me. Ah! I loved him, and he loved me!—Poor little boy! is he with his mother, in the quiet resting-place where I laid her; and where I often carried her boy to visit her grave! It was in the depth of the wood where she was laid. I wish I knew that my son were safely sleeping beside her, out of the reach of the slave-merchant. Ah, my little Quashee! since my darkness I have thought of him, and fancied I had him again in my arms—but I know not where he is!'

I remember that at this part of the story Cæsar spoke in broken accents, paused, wiped his sightless eyes; and, suddenly taking his violin, drew the bow over the strings, producing at first a confusion of discordant notes; which by degrees ceased to grate upon the ear, and were succeeded by an exceedingly pathetic strain, consisting but of few notes, but reminding me of one of the pensive airs in Handel—for they also breathe the language of nature. He repeated the air several times; and it seemed, by a kind of mysterious connection with the days of my own childhood, to carry me back to the Lagoon. Yet I could not have decidedly said that I ever heard it before.

'There—there, sir,' said Cæsar, as he laid down his instrument—'that is the tune which Benneba used to sing to her babe! I often play it when I am quite alone; and it brings all my country before me. It is an old African tune, and used by mothers to lull their infants to sleep. It comforts me sometimes to play this tune; but it oftener makes me unhappy—it tells

me of joys never to come again!——When my boy was five years old, I took him out one day by the river-side, thinking to catch some fish. We strolled towards one of the water-falls, where the bushes were thick. I wanted a bamboo for my fishing tackle, and left the child among the bushes, telling him to stay there till I had found the bamboo. The cataract made a loud roaring, which might be heard from far. I pushed my way among the bushes, and saw a boat, or canoe, falling down the stream towards where I had left my son, and carrying a crew of ill-looking men, one of them seated at the stern, and gently directing their course with a paddle. I started back; but it was too late. In a moment they were on the bank; for they had just caught a glance of me. In the space of five minutes I was pursued, seized, gagged, and laid at the bottom of the canoe. I had struggled indeed, and shrieked; but the noise of the fall drowned my cries. So, happily for him, the child did not hear me; else he would have been captured too. As to myself, during the first surprise of my captivity, I was so bewildered that I know not what passed: perhaps I had been stunned by being violently thrown into the canoe. But when I came a little to myself, my agonies about the child—left, for all that I knew, to perish, or to be enslaved—drove me almost to desperation. They sent me to the coast, and I was immediately put into the hold of a slave-ship.—I shall not particularly describe the terrors of the middle passage; but, you may even now see the scars, through the holes in my stocking, and where the flesh looks seamed and rugged. I will only tell one part of my sufferings at sea. I was

ed to a Coromantee Negro—not, observe, my right d and foot to his left ones, but across, so that we ld not move either hand or foot, but with great tion and perfect consent *. Well, my companion ı taken with a sad painful disease; and his sufferings re not very patiently borne, as I have seen others ır them; for the Coromantees are a much fiercer ɔe than many others: so his disease was exas- ɪated by his violence. Before the illness came on, : had accommodated each other, by governing our ɔtions so as to suit both; and so far escaped injury— ıt is, escaped *this kind* of injury; for otherwise, as I ve heard at church, the iron entered into our souls! ıt when my poor comrade, in fits of pain, gave con- ılsive starts and twitches, and sometimes wrenching mself as one possessed with an unclean spirit, he rely lacerated both himself and me! I used to cry, ıd complain; but torture hears no cries. I do not ame him—*he* was the worst sufferer—and then, we d not well understand each other's language; or ther, what was more afflicting, I only understood

* In the slave-ship in which I afterwards (1801) sailed from ıe Windward Coast, this part of the practice was more humane; ıt in the most inexorable systems of oppression there are shades ' cruelty. The method mentioned in the text was used in lr. Newton's time. See his 'Thoughts upon the African Slave 'rade' (Works, vi. 530); to which I cannot refer, without reathing an earnest wish that many of the admirers of Cardi- honia, Omicron, and the Olney Hymns, would also study the ıbject of Slavery under their justly venerated master. What e says about his own connection with the trade, and his sub- ɔquent self-abhorrence, is quite applicable to such religionists, ı these days, as refuse honestly to examine the anti-slavery uestion; and content themselves with a guilty neutrality; or, hat is more serious, with a hostile feeling against the aboli- ɔnists.

half of what he said, and so sometimes did exactly contrary to what he meant; and then he was outrageous with me, and, in defiance of the pain, struggled, and tore, and raved—Oh the agonies of the days and nights spent in this terrible conflict!—One night the Corsemantee lay so quiet that I was comparatively at ease, and I supposed he was recovering—all was still, and I slept—nature indeed was worn out. On waking, I felt his side and limbs surprisingly cool, and said, all the fever is gone—but he was dead; and I was fettered hand and foot to a corpse!'

This portion of Cæsar's story was told me when I was at school; and I recollect shuddering at the account of his being linked to a *body of death*. I cried out; 'And is it in this way that we get slaves? and does my father know it?' I spoke this with such a passionate emphasis, that Cæsar seemed astonished, and turned his sightless eyes towards me. When my emotion had subsided, I took the hand of the blind man and said, 'Cæsar, don't vex yourself. When I am a man, I will send somebody to Africa to look for your son; and I will take care of you; and I will be your son; and I will—yes, I will take care of you—and they sha'nt hinder me.'

From the time in which this part of Cæsar's story was related, I remember few events, till, in the course of one of the summers spent at Ravenswood, I was taken ill of a fever; and remained for many days in great danger. Nothing could exceed the attention and kindness bestowed upon me, at this crisis, by all the family; and particularly by Miss S——. While I was confined to my bed, poor Cæsar did not fail a single

day to come and inquire after me. It was not thought right that he should come into the room, for fear of infection. But he was seen daily sitting, when I was at the worst, on a tomb nearly opposite the window of the chamber; though below it. At length it was told him one evening that the fever had left me, and that I was falling into a sweet sleep. He went home in high glee, and by the dawn of the succeeding day his dark figure was discerned on the tomb by Frederic, who had watched me all night. The post of Frederic was taken at six o'clock by Miss S——.

I had slumbered all the night, with few intervals; and was still sleeping when she took her place by the bed. I well remember the sense of comfort and ease I felt that night. One almost uninterrupted vision of delight seemed to be diffused over my mind. With this were yet mingled the confused and inconsistent phantasies of dreaming. Before I awoke, however, the current of my imagination flowed more equably; and the objects presenting themselves appeared to be so consistent with reality, that, on actually awaking, I all but believed that I had been at the Lagoon, in my mother's apartment. Its folding doors opened before me, displaying a garden, splendid with the most beautiful and fragrant flowers, and shadowed by luxuriant foliage. Beyond this I saw the lake brightening in the sun, bearing on its bosom a vessel gently impelled by the breeze; and its banks covered with exuberant vegetation—all as I indistinctly remembered it. I thought myself an infant again; while Daniel sometimes, and then Cæsar, was sitting by me on a mat, and singing to me. The air was the same which has been already described. My

mother, and then my father, appeared before me; and scenes of infancy, with all their tender remembrances, passed vividly before the mental sense.

I began to sob and start in my sleep. On this my kind attendant gently awakened me, and said, 'Dear, dear George—why do you sob—why do you tremble? there are none here but friends.' But, notwithstanding all her soothings, I could not recover myself. I could not dispel the illusion; for I still heard (and yet though the strain came from a distance) the same air which I had fancied had been sung to me in the dream. 'Hark, ma'am!' I said: 'hark!—is not Daniel singing?' 'It is not Daniel,' she answered, 'but your friend Cæsar—he is seated on the tomb just under the window; and he is playing you a tune this fine morning; that you may know how rejoiced he is at your being better.'—'And how did Daniel,' said I, 'come here?'—'It is not Daniel, my love, but Cæsar.'—'And how,' I continued, 'does Cæsar know Daniel's tune? But do let Daniel come in, and see me: he will help to take care of me—oh, poor Daniel, he shall not be a slave any more!'——Miss S—— did not attempt to set me right; for, as she afterwards told me, she observed that my excessive weakness had produced some degree of delirium; and, the music soon ceasing, I became more composed, and sunk into a calm slumber.

During my residence at Ravenswood, my aunt, with her husband, came to see me; and from her I learned, for the first time, that since I had left Jamaica two sisters had been born. She soon discovered my intimacy with Cæsar; and expressed her highest displeasure at a connection, which, she averred, was a disgrace

yself, and to all my family and relations; whom onsidered to be absolutely insulted and polluted e whole affair. 'I thought,' she one day said to that you had had enough of the Black rabble, in your infancy, with that fool Daniel—but e me, if you are not yet satisfied, you will have enough of them when you go home.'

the course of her visit, Dr. S—— incidentally ex- ed a hope that something might be done towards melioration of the Negroes' condition. 'Meliora- ' retorted my aunt, with a toss of high disdain; 'that ne word, sir; and meant, I suppose, to dazzle igno- by its splendour; but I wonder that a man of your tration, and a divine too, who must have read the pronounced upon Canaan, should dream of re- ing and liberating his posterity. No; the Blacks hearts too hard to be melted by the best preach- -I have lived among them, and know them to the ; and know their deceitfulness, idleness, hypocrisy, their determined opposition to all good advice.'— ey are not singular,' replied Dr. S—— with great ness, 'in these points of character. I have no l to go one mile from this room to find hearts of l insensibility. In the clusters of cottages, scattered this retired parish, I have seen all that I have read ooks respecting the dark shades of the African acter*. You have doubtless read what Mr. Long about this. I can only say that I could have told the same tale from the annals of my incumbency.

* See Appendix VI.

Nay, we might take, on this subject, a practical lesson from within. Our own hearts'——

The lady became impatient at this hint; and interrupted the Doctor's farther illustration by hastily retorting—'Yours must be an extraordinary parish, sir; we know nothing of these things at Bath—but I always considered the country to be the abode of innocence; and certainly our virtuous and brave peasantry are, as Goldsmith says, "their country's pride"—Indeed, Dr. S——, had I heard such opinions from any one but yourself, I should have called them really uncharitable.'

My aunt came now to a pause, and the company were all silent; till she took up what she supposed to be an impregnable position, by observing, 'You will at least allow, my good sir, that slavery is a Divine institution, expressly recognised by the Mosaic Law; and, indeed, by St. Paul, under the milder scheme of Christianity.'—'Why, ma'am,' was the reply, 'we are taught in the Scriptures, that Moses adapted several of his institutions to the particular disposition of his countrymen. He did not attempt to forbid slavery among them; perhaps because they were not more ripe for it than for the indissoluble band of marriage: and what did our Lord say of the latter? *Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.* Now apply, by the acknowledged rules of analogy, *this* interpretation; and I will leave the inference to yourself. But we must also recollect, that while he allowed the Israelites to enslave the Canaanites, and their posterity, he endeavoured to render their lot easy. He also

enacted, that there should be but one law, one rule of justice, for the native and for the stranger; which is in direct opposition to our colonial laws, where the evidence even of a free African will not be taken against a White*. He secures good usage to the slave, by commanding, that if his master, in beating him, strike out a single tooth, he shall have his freedom. He also ordains the personal slavery of every Jew to terminate in the beginning of the seventh or sabbatical year, whether near at hand or distant when that commenced. He guards effectually against a grovelling slavish spirit among his people, by condemning him to perpetual slavery, who, enticed by kind treatment of his master, should shew a disregard of this noble privilege of the sabbatical year. He calls repeatedly on his people to remember that they themselves had been slaves in Egypt; and therefore, from motives of fellow-feeling, should make the condition of their own slaves easy. He bids them treat well strangers of one country, because they had been strangers in their land; others, because they were of the same lineage with themselves. He tells them, that the institution of a weekly Sabbath had in contemplation the benevolent purpose of giving rest to the wearied slave, and a respite from toil even to the wearied ox†.'

A few months after this visit, one of my venerable tutor's first pupils, a physician, who had since settled in a distant county town, and practised there with considerable success, came to see his old master, and

* Since the date of this conversation, things, in this respect, are generally altered.

† See Appendix VII.

remained with us three days—a long absence for a man of his fame; but he visited us at a season of the year when the local diseases of his town were less numerous and less malignant; and when also the magic of a bright summer dispossessed imaginary ills till they returned with the glooms of winter. Among us boys he became a boy again; and, leaving his patients and cares behind him, spouted out, in tones between jest and earnest, Gray's Ode on Eton; and declared that he breathed a second spring, and also a second summer into the bargain, all in three days, among the hills and pastures of Ravenswood. We shewed him, of course, our curiosities; and as, on the last evening, he was busy with us in the gardens, he suddenly discovered Cæsar, who had indeed been summoned to meet the stranger, and was occupying a seat in the corner. 'What have you got here?' he exclaimed; 'and blind too! How did he become so?—Come, let me examine his eyes—Do, George, if you possibly can, keep out of the way—do, boys, hold your tongues till I have done—Very well, Cæsar; that will do: put on your hat again.'—By making an almost super-human effort, we remained quiet during the inspection; after which our medical play-fellow, who for five minutes had relapsed into the grave physician, quickly said, 'I must take that man back with me to B——: we have an excellent surgeon-oculist at the infirmary, and he has been successful in many cases of cataract. And I have no doubt'—turning to me, whom he perceived to take an extraordinary interest in the Negro,—'master George, that in a few months he will have the pleasure of seeing your pretty Creole face.'

I was unable to contain myself at this news; but boys do not like to be seen crying. I therefore darted from the spot, flew across the lane, over the stile, through the church-yard, into the house; where, seeking Miss S——, who was my treasurer, I demanded my purse, saying, 'I must have all my money—every farthing—for Dr. G——, to give him for Cæsar.'—'And what for?' said the treasurer, feeling in the dark profound of her pocket for the keys. 'Because he is going to cure Cæsar—Cæsar won't be blind any more—and then, when I have found his son ——' 'Softly, softly,' said Miss S——, laying her hand on my mouth; 'what a castle are you building in the air! When Cæsar can see—and when you have found his son!—quite enough at one time, my little enthusiast. Well, take your money; and be sure you make *him* take it: and if he is obstinate, bring it back to me, and we will keep it for the next cure.'—Back I flew, and with swifter haste; and forced the purse into Dr. G——'s hands. He looked at it, and said, 'What is this for?'—the guineas glittered through the meshes. 'For you, sir, for curing Cæsar—I will write to my aunt for more—how much shall I send for?'—The amiable physician laughed, and replied, 'There are in the world two sorts of bad paymasters, massa George: the first pays beforehand, and the second never pays at all. So take back your guineas. I want no payment. If I can do this poor exile any good, I shall indeed be overpaid. But as your guineas abound so much, and seem impatient to get out of their net, I advise you to consult with Miss S——, and find out whether our poor blind man may not want something for his journey.'

That same evening I said to our patient, 'Cæsar, perhaps you will now see your son again.'—'Ah, little master, that is what I dare not think about; but if my sight be restored—I can't think, however, this will ever be—I shall see *you*.'—I then asked Cæsar whether he should know his boy again. 'Ah! yes, yes—he was a very pretty boy—all black—so black!—and then, when he was four years old, some scalding oil fell upon him, and left a whitish mark just above his left knee, which would never leave him—that is, suppose he is alive.'—A whitish mark! a whitish mark! whispered I to myself; why Daniel was marked—at least there was something looking odd, I but barely recollect, about his leg; but then it was *below* his knee;—and then, alas, I also thought, *all* our slaves were marked with branding, and scars; some with yaw-marks or flogging—and who could distinguish a little discolouration of the skin? But I said nothing. Next morning Cæsar was placed on the top of the same coach which conveyed Dr. G—— home. We all walked with them to a turnpike three miles distant, and came back dull and dispirited.

We heard no more of Cæsar for some months; and I was beginning to grow very anxious, and was actually meditating a letter to Dr. G——, to be corrected, however, by the combined wisdom of my companions; when, one afternoon, as we were all romping in the church-yard, the least of our boys unexpectedly sang out, 'Cæsar is coming—Cæsar is coming!' In a moment we rushed out at the gate, and hurried, like a torrent, towards the restored friend. All the rest managed to be clustered around him before I could arrive; for

they outran me; and I only saw the first greetings. But I soon heard it inquired, 'And what did you feel, Cæsar, when your eyes were opened?' This was enough for me; and told me the result. It was then proposed by the eldest of the party, that we should all stand back, and not speak again; to give the Negro an opportunity of picking out massa George. It was then I saw, from the appearance of his right eye, that the experiment—as afterwards we were told—had been partially successful; but with *that* he saw, and saw pretty distinctly. With this eye, then, did Cæsar run round the circle, and—from whatever mysterious sympathy, or from observing, what must surely have been evident from the agitation of my feelings, and the deep blushes of consciousness—he soon selected me, and cried, 'There he is—there he is—my own dear massa George!' I ran into his arms, and the boys gave a joyous shout, which was heard at the vicarage; and thither we led our friend in triumph.

For the present the story of Cæsar shall be suspended. A comfortable situation was found for him in the parish; and he remained there, till, as will afterwards appear, he returned to the West Indies; where he spent the evening of his days, and in the highest sense lived and died well.

* * * * * * * *

I left Ravenswood in 1796. My tutor had sent so favourable an account of my conduct and acquirements to the Lagoon, and such an importunate request that my father would allow me the advantages of an university, that he consented to my being entered at Christ-Church, Oxford. I was accordingly matricu-

lated on the 8th of February 1797, by the Warden of Merton, Vice-Chancellor at that period; and kept my first term in the same year.

At the time in question the discipline and literary pretensions of Oxford had by no means rendered obsolete the complaints of Gibbon and Knox; and of many others, who, from whatever motive, represented their academical mother to be in a state of superannuation and dotage. During my residence at Christ Church I was, however, for those days, a decidedly reading man; and never indulged in the indolent and sensual habits of many around me. I had not forgotten the moral lessons at the vicarage. The remembrance of them was, throughout, considerably influential; yet I certainly lost ground—and firm must his standing be, who remains unshaken among the allurements and pleasant temptations of such a situation. My animal passions were comparatively tranquil; and I had rather to struggle with seductions of a more plausible and subtle character—with ambition, and vices which concealed their worldliness under an intellectual guise—and these were consequently more dangerous, in proportion to their shew of decency, and their obedience to the powers of literature. The occupants of St. Mary's pulpit—since considerably reformed—very seldom reminded me of the sermons at Ravenswood. Among the preachers were certain called *hacks;* and their instructions faithfully corresponded to their names and pretensions. They were extremely like some of their brethren, whom I afterwards heard in the colonies. When I was *doing generals* —a phrase, I trust, utterly unintelligible to the present

ree of gownsmen—and making the usual set of grimaces in the schools, preparatory to my Bachelor's degree, an edict was suddenly issued from the Lagoon for my immediate return home. I call it an edict, from the remembrance of my irritation at the moment, though it was really a kind and paternal letter; but my mortification was so great, that I declaimed at what my companions supposed to be a peremptory and tyrannical exercise of parental authority. One of them said, that a planter's son was only a kind of domestic slave; and must expect to hear the whip crack even in orders signed by 'I am your most affectionate father.'——My own wish had been, and my parents already knew it, to go to the Temple; and to try my fortune at the English Bar with some of my associates, who, at this depressing crisis, now condoled with me on the prospect of being banished to the cane-pieces of Jamaica. But as, in the bright morning of life, shadows soon vanish, a week had not elapsed before I became more than reconciled to my fate. In a retired corner of the Bodleian, I looked over, by special favour of the librarian, Bryan Edwards's History, then a recent publication; and was soon elevated, by his pictures of the luxuriant scenery of my father-land, into a most happy state of acquiescence in parental wishes. My author's accommodation of Milton's description of paradise to the floral and sylvan splendour of the tropics, was, in itself, an irresistible argument in favour of my return. I had always been an enthusiast in the beauties of nature; and was rallied by my more gregarious acquaintance for the lonely rambles I was guilty of taking, with Thomson, Beattie, and Cowper

in my pocket; along the banks of the *most* wizard streams I could find in a flat and agricultural country; or up the acclivities—such as they were—of Shotover; of which forest it delighted me to remember that Milton's ancestor was ranger; and where, as I was determined to believe, he wandered himself, and wooed the willing muse, to inspire him with some favourite passages in the L'Allegro.

I should, however, have mentioned, that my father's edict contained the appalling information, that I must sail first in a slave-ship from Liverpool to the windward coast of Africa; and thence, with a living cargo, to Port Royal. Fully aware, as even then I was, of my parent's efforts to Christianize his slaves, and practically to abolish the West-India system, I was astonished that he should suddenly introduce me into the very depth of its abominations. Such conduct appeared to be a palpable inconsistency. It was afterwards explained satisfactorily by himself; and indeed I found a person at Liverpool, previously to my sailing, who was instructed to acquaint me with certain circumstances, which rendered the voyage, as I thought at the time, and think now, all but indispensable in the state of our private affairs. We were, in fact, fettered to a bad system; and unless we had at once broken our chains, I could not do otherwise than I did; and therefore acquiesced.

The order for my embarkation for Africa produced its full share of superadded commiseration on the part of my friends; and well do I recal, at this long distance of time, a miserable walk with two of my intimates round and round Christ-Church meadow, and up and

down the great walk; on one of those summer evenings, sometimes occurring even in this climate, which might charm away all sadness, but that excited, at the moment, by the prospect of being imprisoned in a floating lazar-house, with a crowd of diseased and wretched slaves. My companions and myself vied with each other in uttering expressions of disgust and indignation at the very mention of such a voyage, quite forgetting that *my* feelings on board the vessel would be luxury and rapture, compared with the lot of the captives!—But, as already intimated, this thunder-cloud was soon dispelled; and at a wine party five days afterwards—and where, by the way, I had no business to be—it was agreed, by acclamation, that nothing could be so enviable as to be put into full possession of an entirely new set of ideas; combined of materials to be furnished from the Liverpool docks, the shores of Africa, and the very original novelties—notwithstanding a little unpleasantness—of a slave-ship. One of the party, who was beginning to be a little elevated, said, 'You must know, massa George'—for so was I often called, by those who had listened to my stories about Cæsar—'You must know, massa, that the accounts of the middle passage have been villanously exaggerated—in fact, it is quite a party business—and as to the whistling of Granville Sharp, and Clarkson, and fifty such fellows, why it might be as well if they would lay aside a little of their transatlantic charity, and practise some at home: for, to my certain knowledge, there are some of your philanthropists among us, who will absolutely turn a beggar from the door, and deny even a poor man his evening com-

forts at the alehouse, and then give their ten guineas each, to that confounded committee in the Old Jewry, or somewhere—wailing and whimpering over the black cattle caught and tamed for our colonies—and these fellows'—here he emptied the sugar bason into a bowl of negus—'would rob us of the first necessaries of life. No; give me the man whose charity begins at home. However, massa George, don't cry about it: you will only have to study a new volume of man, bound in black, and—I believe—richly adorned with cats!'——This was, of course, an excellent joke; and produced among some of the party a peal of applause, and cries of *encore*. But, in justice to the rest, who endured many a similar declamation before the clock struck twelve, I must add, that *they* received such gratuitous cruelty with great coolness. It was remembered, that so early as, I think, 1789, the University had instructed its representatives to second the petition from Cambridge. Feelings of ingenuous shame were therefore manifested in our circle, even amidst all the hilarity of such a party; and I will mention, in this place, the grateful fact, that certain undergraduates, then present, afterwards espoused with all their hearts the cause of the Slaves; and, to this day, retain the opinions formed in their youth.

On the Sunday morning after this party, it so happened, that we had a sermon at St. Mary's, from one of our regular *hacks*. He surprised his audience by a criticism on what he called a decidedly erroneous translation of a passage in the established version of the Scriptures; and delivered his remarks with such an amusing unconsciousness of their absurdity, that the

titter in the undergraduates' gallery—for even we boys had learning enough to see through the preacher's shallowness—almost occasioned responses from the heads of houses in the abyss below. After the performance was over, I walked up Headington-hill with an elderly fellow of Magdalen (a maternal relation of mine), who had lived many years an unvaried university life; passing daily, at least in term time, from bed and breakfast to chapel, from chapel to hall, from hall to common room, and from common room to bed again; all as mechanically and punctually as the chimes in the beautiful tower of his college.

This senior, to my astonishment, defended the criticism of the morning; or, at any rate, justified attacks on King James's Bible—and why?—'Because,' he said, 'my dear cousin'—I was always *dear* when he foresaw any opposition of mine to his opinions—'you must be aware—or you would be so, had not your inexperienced mind been poisoned at Ravenswood: I always thought your aunt highly culpable for sending you there—you must be aware of the ruin hanging over your father's property, and, sir, over *your own*, should our fanatical expositors of Scripture succeed in persuading the public that slavery is not sanctioned by the sacred writings. Now, to confute them, it is become quite necessary, in my most decided judgment—enemy as I am to all innovation in these dangerous times—to shew the inaccuracy of our translators, even—perhaps you will smile—in so familiar a part as the Ten Commandments; where they call what is in the original man-*slave* and woman-*slave*, by

the unauthorized terms of man-servant and maid-servant.'

He then advised me by all means to consult Dr. Blayney (Regius Professor of Hebrew) on a point of such vital importance. 'Besides,' he added, 'from the first verse of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, I defy even Bishop Horsley himself—who, very unadvisedly, takes the popular side—to point out a single text in which the existence of slavery is reprobated. You must know, if you would, that personal slavery is twice mentioned in the decalogue: thus, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.....on that day thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy male-*slave*" —do you hear, cousin?—"nor thy female-*slave*:"—and again, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his male-*slave*, nor his female-*slave*"—*slave, slave*, sir! Neither can you be ignorant, that, when our Saviour appeared on the earth, slaves, agricultural and domestic, surrounded him wherever he went*'—— and a great deal more to the same effect, which lasted all up and down the hill, and back to his rooms at Magdalen; where he insisted that I should accompany him, that he might read, for my further conviction, 'the unanswerable arguments of Edwards.' So down came the handsome quarto, which seemed to open of itself at this welcome passage: "That the slavery of some part of the human species, in a very abject degree, has existed in all ages of the world, among the most civilized, as well as the most barbarous nations,

* Quarterly Review, No. 66. 502.

no man who has consulted the records of history disputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the constitution of the world, for purposes inscrutable to man" (ii. 150). 'How truly excellent!' said my companion; 'and with what a solemn acquiescence in the moral government of an all-wise Providence does the writer conclude! It is therefore self-evident, that we should err in trying to remove the necessary evil thus connected with the order of the world.'

My relative now complained of severe head-ache, and proceeded to his medicine chest, where he took out a phial of what he called Dr. Wall's infallible remedy for his ailment. 'Why, sir,' said I, 'head-aches are interwoven into the constitution of the world; and, as far as I have consulted the annals of medical history, have existed in all ages, and certainly among the most civilized nations; and for purposes inscrutable to man; yet—yet—will you excuse me?—I think that we ought also to acquiesce in head-aches, and not take infallible mixtures for their cure.'

How I got down stairs I scarcely know; but, to escape the flash and the thunderbolt, I took a hurried farewell, and turned into Addison's Walk, to muse on a new chapter in the volume of human inconsistency and delusion. There also I bethought me, that the Decalogue commanded that male and female *slaves* were to do no manner of work on the sabbath-day; but, by the practice of Jamaica, this too must be a wrong translation. Then I trusted that these slaves were never *coveted*; for if we must mind one part of

the commandment we must not forget the other.—But slavery is never reprobated in the Bible. Neither are forgery, burglary, arson, and sheep-stealing; yet for these things men continually suffer death.—There were, however, agricultural and domestic slaves in Judea. True; and Dr. S—— told my aunt, and Ramsay, and Burgess, and a hundred Biblical critics, have told all the world, how these slaves were used. Treat the Negroes as well; and the moment you begin to do this, the Abolitionists may confidently reckon upon an alliance with the Planters, who will speedily wrest the brand and the scourge from the grasp of the driver.

But as to my poor relative: his mind went as mechanically as his body, and had been wound up by men a little superior to himself; and so he delivered his sentiments as regularly as a clock strikes the hours, and with almost an unconsciousness of mental exertion. But he was not the only Oxonian who had his favourite passages ready doubled down for use. I could have brought from Edwards counter statements as powerful, at least, on my side, as the assertions just quoted; for, at times, truth shines with considerable brilliancy on the historian's pages.

I allude, however, more immediately to a man of Pembroke, who was one day declaiming against me as a suicidal simpleton, for sporting, as he said, such foolish sentiments. And *he* also reached down his volume, with a triumphant giggle, and said, 'There, sir; read what Johnson's inimitable biographer says in answer to his master.'—'What!' answered I, 'to the boast and pride of your house?'—'Oh, all men

ave their weaknesses—and, besides, Sam Johnson didn't know what these mischievous fellows would be at'—and then he read from Boswell: 'The wild and dangerous attempt to abolish so necessary a branch of commercial interest....the encouragement which the attempt has received excites my wonder and indignation; and though some men of superior abilities have supported it, whether from a love of popularity, or a love of mischief, my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a *status* which in all ages God has sanctioned and man has continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects, but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages; a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life.'

'Pretty well,' said I, 'for one side; but we may just as well now read Dr. Johnson's argument; and you shall answer it, especially as you are a Pembroke graduate, and may have caught the great man's mantle. I must remind you first, that in the year 1776 a Negro, named Joseph Knight, having been purchased in Jamaica, attended his owner to Scotland, where he was told that he was free. The question came before the Court of Session; and the man formally obtained his liberty. Dr. Johnson dictated the following paper:—"It must be agreed that in most ages many countries have had part of their inhabitants in a state of slavery, yet it may be doubted whether slavery can ever be supposed the natural condition of man. It is impossible not to conceive that men, in their original state, were equal; and very difficult to imagine how

one would be subjected to another but by violent compulsion. An individual may, indeed, forfeit his liberty by a crime; but he cannot by that crime forfeit the liberty of his children. What is true of a criminal seems true likewise of a captive. A man may accept life from a conquering enemy on condition of perpetual servitude: but it is very doubtful whether he can entail that servitude on his descendants; for no man can stipulate without condition for another. The condition which he himself accepts, his son or grandson perhaps would have rejected. If we should admit, what perhaps may with more reason be denied, that there are certain relations between man and man which may make slavery necessary and just, yet it can never be proved that he who is now suing for freedom ever stood in any of those relations. He is certainly subject by no law, but that of violence, to his present master; who pretends no claim to his obedience, but that he bought him from a merchant of slaves, whose right to sell him never was examined. It is said, that according to the constitutions of Jamaica he was legally enslaved: these constitutions are merely positive, and apparently injurious to the rights of mankind, because whoever is exposed to sale is condemned to slavery without appeal, by whatever fraud or violence he might have been originally brought into the merchant's power. In our own time princes have been sold, by wretches to whose care they were entrusted that they might have an European education; but when once they were brought to a market in the plantations, little would avail either their dignity, or their wrongs. The laws of Jamaica afford no redress. His

olour is considered as a sufficient testimony against im. It is to be lamented, that moral right should ver give way to political convenience. But if temptaions of interest are sometimes too strong for human virtue, let us at least retain a virtue where there is no temptation to quit it. In the present case there is apparent right on one side, and no inconvenience on the other. Inhabitants of this island can neither gain riches nor power by taking away the liberty of any part of the human species. The sum of the argument is this:—No man is by nature the property of another: the defendant is therefore by nature free; the rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can be justly taken away. That the defendant has by any act forfeited the rights of nature, we require to be proved; and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free."——Now,' said I, 'it is impossible either to refute this reasoning, or to confine the spirit of it to particular parallels of latitude and longitude. If it hold good in Great Britain, why should it not be equally valid in the sugar islands and in Demerara?'

I shall not farther molest the reader with a detail of our subsequent debate*. We parted exactly as men

* It is highly gratifying to observe the warm interest taken by Johnson in the issue of the pending inquiry concerning the claims of Joseph Knight. He writes (Dec. 21, 1776),—'Is the question about the Negro determined? Has Sir Allan any reasonable hopes? What is become of poor Macquarry? Let us know the event of all these litigations. I wish particularly well to the Negro and Sir Allan.' Mr. Boswell answers (Feb. 4, 1777), 'The Negro cause is not yet decided.....Maclaurin is made happy by your approbation of his memorial for the

do, when one combatant feels that he has been firing at a wool-pack, and the other that he determines to remain a wool-pack still—whenever he hates to be convinced. I can only say, that I *endeavoured* to work the guns on the Johnson battery, and did not presume to use any small arms of my own.

* * * * * * * * *

In 1801 I embarked at Liverpool in a vessel amply stored with the apparatus of bondage and misery, for the African coast. Gentlemen who have passed through a similar course of education will judge of the revulsion of feelings by which my mind was sickened, when I suddenly exchanged the society—I mean, my knot of select friends—and the luxuries of Oxford, for the captain, crew, cabin, and sea-stock of the *Liberty*; for so, by a strange illustration of the rule of contraries, was the ship called. She was launched in a year when many of our countrymen were delirious with the brilliant prospects opening in France; and it was among the inconsistencies of a slave merchant to give the name in question to one of the most potent engines of despotism.—However, my buoyant spirits

Blacks.' In July, Johnson is again impatient:—'I long to know how the Negro's cause will be decided. What is the opinion of Lord Auchinleck, or Lord Hailes, or Lord Monboddo?'—I did not farther irritate my companion by reminding him, that, upon one occasion, the glory of his house, when in company with some very grave men in OUR university (as the late Cyril Jackson loved to talk) gave as a toast—'Here's to the next insurrection of the Negroes in the West Indies.'—Edwards refers to this anecdote; and asserts, that Johnson frequently repeated the toast before his own Negro servant.'—Hist. Sur. of St. Domingo, 1801. 110.

again triumphed over disgust, and I really enjoyed the voyage to Africa; though, on seeing the British headlands sink below the horizon, I thought, with bitter pangs, of the years spent at Ravenswood. *Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos!*

During our passage, Captain Y——— did all in his power to soften the revolting circumstances which he foresaw would develop themselves on our landing; during also our stay on the coast, and in our subsequent voyage to Jamaica. His system was that of concealment; and when this imperfectly succeeded, he had recourse to the logic of *explanation*; proving, night after night, as we sat by the dim light of the cabin lamps, that sorrow and pain, captivity and death, were only formidable evils to men of European mind and fibre; that these evils lost their bitterness and malignity, and were, indeed, dulcified and rendered innocuous when administered to the children of Ham by the hands of Japhet; that the Negroes, emancipated from the tyranny of their native princes, and from their own licentious habits, were ultimately gainers, when they reached the plantations of the West: and his perpetual inference was, that whatever aspect of wretchedness might be diffused over the *labourers*—not slaves—whom we should transport to Jamaica, it was beneath a man of my penetration, and fresh from the philosophical exercises of an university, to be deceived by any surface of evil. But the man had *become black*; a phrase of peculiar import in the dark mysteries of the slave trade; and the reader may find its interpretation in the margin, furnished by one

whose evidence on the general subject of slavery is above all suspicion*.

Indeed, I will, at this point, confess, that such was the influence of familiarity with scenes of oppression, cruelty, and human wretchedness, even during the few weeks of the middle passage, that my own colour was contracting a darker shade; notwithstanding my feelings bore hourly witness to the guilt of a then legalized commerce in men as free-born as myself. The truth obviously is, that all evil is contagious; and especially in the absence of any counteracting influence. 'Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.' Another consideration was, that I began, even at that time, to feel my fortunes identified with the commercial prosperity of the colonies. It was a perfectly new sensation; but it quickly matured itself into something like a principle of action. No human theory of virtue is proof against the appeals of interest and passion. Give me, as a man of like appetites with the rest of my species, the prospect of certain gain;

* 'There is a significant phrase frequently used in Africa, that such a White man is grown *black*. It does not intend an alteration of complexion, but disposition. I have known several who, settling in Africa, after the age of thirty or forty, have, at that time of life, been gradually assimilated to the tempers, customs, and ceremonies of the natives, so far as to prefer that country to England; they have even become dupes to all the pretended charms, necromancies, amulets, and divinations of the blinded Negroes; and put more trust in such things than the wiser sort among the natives.' (Newton's Works, i. 20).—Familiarity with the Negro character, and with the White society in the West Indies, as formed, in whatever degree, by perpetual intercourse with the Blacks, may perhaps account for the introduction of *obeah* principles and feelings into the clerical practice of the colonies; at the baptismal font, and elsewhere.

ıd I will construct an elaborate argument against facts cknowledged by the common sense of mankind. I ill undertake to prove the unsoundness of the *Prinipia*, or the opacity of crystal, or the warmth of ice, or —what you will—even the disinterestedness, mercy, urity, and benevolence of the entire colonial system. have uniformly observed of my fellows, that no elegance of education, refinement of society, or accuracy n moral definition, will permanently affect the character, when once the influence of money and ambition is placed in the opposite scale.

The captain completed his cargo with unusual rapidity; while I remained on shore, absorbed among the wonders of a new world; and particularly in the practical study of natural history, of which the country afforded a magnificent display. I had the felicity of seeing a living boa; which, however, escaped among the intricacies of the bush; and no shots of mine could *bring him to*. Then, I was enraptured by the capture of a full grown chimpanzee; and scarcely heard the sneers of the traders, about my attachment to a first cousin of the Negroes; for they regarded my captive as a *simia*, only one or two removes below the Blacks. I filled several cases with birds, insects, seeds; and with a massy specimen of the nest of the termes. It was a part of Captain Y——'s policy to find me full employment in such things; as he by no means wished me to witness the proceedings at the slave-market, nor the embarkation of his prisoners.

On the 6th of May I went on board the Liberty *.

* I beg the reader distinctly to bear in mind, during his perusal of the voyage, that mine was a *very favourable* speci-

The commander received me with all the appliances and means calculated, in his view, to reconcile me to the terrors of the middle passage. As soon as I was on deck, he told me that I should see that a slave ship was a very different thing from what it had been represented. I should find the slaves rejoicing in their happy state. They had all been put below: but he was resolved to convince me of the truth of his statement. He accordingly said a few words to the women, to which they replied with three cheers and a loud laugh. He went forward on the main deck, and spoke the same words to the men, who made the same reply.—'Now,' says he, 'are you not convinced that Mr. Wilberforce has conceived very improperly of slave ships?' The inference was, no doubt, undeniable. He had had a mutiny of his people, and an insurrection of his slaves: but he said that I need be under no apprehensions now; for he kept such a guard on the slaves as would baffle all their efforts, should they attempt to rise. He

men of such adventures. The incredulous may be referred to Mr. Newton (vi. 530 et seq.), who says, among other things,—'I have seen the Negroes sentenced to unmerciful whippings, continued till the poor creatures have not had power to groan under their misery; and hardly a sign of life has remained. I have seen them agonizing for hours, I believe for days together, under the torture of the thumb-screw, &c.'—Nothing so bad as this took place on board the Liberty; and as to the cruelty of the mate, who flogged one of our women to death—as hereafter related—he managed to commit the murder secretly; and the guilt was all his own.—The horrors of the middle passage were abolished by Act of Parliament from the 1st of January 1808; and so far our guilt has passed away. Were it otherwise, I should proceed to an extended detail of this part of the subject. Evidence, however, may be found in *all* writers, both colonial and anti-colonial, of the incredible cruelties and waste of human life connected with the exportations from the Windward Coast. Consult, for example, the mass of information digested in the third chapter of the 'Abstract of Evidence;' 1791. 33—51.

shewed me where my cot was to hang; and said he hoped I should not find any inconvenience from a few small slaves sleeping below it. 'The smell would be unpleasant for a few days; but when we had got into the trade winds it would no longer be perceived.' The stench, and the spectacle, and the conversation, did not tend to console me in the contemplation of my voyage.

At 2 P. M. the ship got under weigh, and proceeded with a favourable wind. The slaves had a very unhealthy look; being meagre, dirty, and, without one exception, scorbutic. There were on board, in all, two hundred and forty—viz. one hundred and seventy males and seventy females. Four slaves had already died.

7th. I observed one woman hand-cuffed, and inquired the cause. I found she had lately attempted to drown herself, and had been caught by the leg just as she had thrown herself over the side. For this misdemeanour she had received a severe punishment, and was still handcuffed, as an example to the rest.

8th. The men slaves were brought on deck for the first time since our sailing. They seemed exceedingly dispirited, and drooped very much: some of them also looked very sickly, and proved to be so. In some of their countenances there appeared a settled gloom; which the captain wished to attribute partly to their having been confined below for some days, and partly to their not seeing land. Both he and the officers seemed to think that they had mischief in their minds. While the ship was on the coast they had made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of her.

15th. A woman who was lately delivered of a child died. She had been previously reduced to a mere skeleton. A slave ship affords few, or rather no, comforts to a woman in this state. The bare deck was her only bed, and a scanty rug her only covering. The child had not yet tasted its mother's milk, but had been fed with flour. It survived the mother only two days.

23d. I observed to-day, as on former occasions, several of the slaves rejecting their food. The officer on duty began to threaten and shake his *cat* at such as refused to eat. One argument he made use of was, that if they did not eat, they would soon be thrown into the sea. That argument, however, would probably have been used in vain, had he not also shewn an intention of proceeding to exercise the *cat*. The slaves then made a shew of eating, by putting a little rice into their mouths; but whenever the officer's back was turned, they threw it into the sea.

24th. The captain again wanted the slaves to dance; but they did not seem disposed to comply with his wish. He began to dance himself, by way of setting them an example; but they shewed no inclination to follow it, till the *cat* was called for. Then, indeed, they began to sing and skip about. A few, however, were content to have the *cat* smartly applied across their shoulders several times, before they would so much belie their feelings as to make merry, when their heart was sad.

At length we cast anchor in the harbour of Port Royal; soon after which I took my leave of the Liberty, and went ashore. Before, however, I quit her entirely, I shall give a description of the economy of this slave ship, to-

gether with such observations as I was enabled to make on the state of the slaves, and the mortality among them.

The accommodations for the slaves were arranged in the following manner. The men's room was immediately below the main-deck, and extended all the way forward from the main-mast. Its height below the beams was only four feet and a half. A large grating was placed over it; through which, while at sea, a sufficiency of air might in general be admitted: but in harbour, or on the coast, where calms are frequent, the poor slaves confined in it must have often breathed a most impure and stifling atmosphere. There were, in the side, two or three small scuttles, or holes for admitting air, which were occasionally opened. In this room 140 men were stowed: and certainly the space allotted to them was far too small, either for comfort or health. I observed, that, on their coming on deck the second day after we had sailed (they had at that time been four or five days below), their looks were quite livid and ghastly as well as gloomy and dejected.

The men were always fastened together, two and two, by means of iron shackles; the right leg and hand of one being attached to the left leg and hand of the other. If the weather was such as to admit of their coming upon deck, they were brought up about eight o'clock in the morning. Only two were allowed to come up the hatchway at a time: and a second pair was not permitted to ascend until the first pair was made fast to a chain reaching the whole length of the deck, and which, having been passed through a ring in the leg-irons of each pair in succession, was then locked to a strong ring-bolt. After they had all been brought

on deck, their rice was set before them in tubs—(one tub for ten slaves). On a signal being made, they all clapped their hands and cheered three times: after which they immediately began to eat. Having finished their meal, a draught of water was given to each. The first-mate and boatswain, armed with a *cat*, have charge of the main-deck during this process.

Sometimes a drum was carried on the main-deck, to the music of which the men sung and danced. Being fixed to one spot, by means of the chain already mentioned, their dancing consisted only of beating the deck violently with the foot which was at liberty. They had two meals a day: the first between nine and ten; the second, which was conducted in the same way as the first, about four in the afternoon. Before sunset they were all sent down below, and the hatches were then locked. While they were on deck their apartment was always cleaned out; but towards morning the smell of it became necessarily very offensive: and it was still more so if the weather at any time prevented their being brought on deck.

The main-deck was entirely separated from the part of the ship abaft the main-mast by a strong barricade about ten feet high, and extending about two feet over the ship's side. In this barricade was a little door, capable of admitting one person; at which two centinels were placed during the time the men slaves were on deck. Four more were placed, with loaded blunderbusses in their hands, on the top of the barricade, above the heads of the slaves: and two cannons, loaded with small shot, were pointed towards the main-deck through holes cut in the barricade to receive them.

A very strong bulk-head, but so formed as to admit the circulation of air, bounded the after-part of the men's room; between which and a bulk-head of the same kind, which formed the fore-part of the women's room, was a space of about ten feet, which served for a passage into the hold. From this second bulk-head the women's room extended to the mizen-mast. This apartment was more commodious in proportion than that of the men, as in general not more than forty-five persons slept in it. The women were not in irons, one excepted, who had attempted to drown herself. The grating was raised about three feet above the deck, and admitted a good deal of air. The women were brought upon the quarter-deck every morning: but with *them* none of those precautions were used which were thought necessary with the men. They, together with the boys and girls, messed on the quarter-deck, in the same way as is described above; and were kept in order by the second-mate, armed with a cat. They were frequently ordered to dance and sing; and, being more at their liberty than the men, and apparently less affected by their state, they made much more noise at this exercise; though it was a difficult matter at times to prevail on them to engage in it. About sunset they also were ordered into their place of confinement, and the hatches locked down.

The quarter-deck was raised about seven feet above the main-deck, and extended forward so as to afford two additional apartments. The aftermost formed the cabin. Here hung the captain's cot and mine: and underneath these, on the floor, during the night time,

lay twenty-five little girls. Before the cabin was another apartment, quite open forward, in which the first-mate and surgeon hung their cots, and where the boys, to the number of twenty-nine, lay during the night. The ship's company had their hammocks hung over the main-deck, under the long-boat; on each side of which a kind of awning was extended a little way, in order to defend them from the dews.

The food of the slaves was boiled rice; over which was poured a sauce, called slabber sauce, made by boiling some pieces of scuttle fish, and perhaps some beef bones, in water. It was the doctor's province to see that the rice was properly cooked, exactly portioned out, and sufficiently cool. Such of the slaves as did not eat heartily, were ordered to eat, and threatened with punishment if they did not: but it often appeared that those who refused to eat were indisposed. The sick, especially those with dysentery, were kept separate from the others: the men in the long-boat, over which was thrown an awning; the women under the half-deck. None of the slaves had any clothing allowed them, and they all slept on the bare boards. How painful this bed must have been, considering the friction caused by the incessant, and at times violent, motion of the ship, may be easily conceived. I had some experience of it. Being indisposed one day, I lay down on the lockers in the cabin, without a mattrass under me; in consequence of which, before night, I had the skin rubbed off my hip bones, and my flesh in many places much bruised. The slaves, I believe, are more accustomed to hard

beds than I was: but the friction caused by the motion of the ship must have been as new to them as to me, and it was that which chiefly incommoded me.

From the above account it will be conceived that my situation could not have been a pleasant one. During the night I hung over a crowd of slaves huddled together on the floor, whose stench at times was almost beyond endurance. During the day, indeed, I had the cabin a good deal to myself: but the noise of the slaves on the deck was excessive, especially when they were dancing. There was no possibility of my having any exercise, as the quarter-deck was so fully occupied by the slaves during the day as to render it difficult to move without treading on them. But if even in health my situation was unpleasant, it was still more so when I happened, as was frequently the case, to be much indisposed. The dissatisfaction, however, which was ready to arise on such occasions, received a check from considering that, if my state—possessed as I was of so many superior comforts; cheered by the hope of soon beholding friends who were dear to me; with various means in my power of amusing my thoughts and alleviating my sufferings; with the consolations also arising from religion to support as well as to soothe the mind—if my state, under all these favourable circumstances, was so uncomfortable,—what must theirs have been whom I saw around me, extended naked on the bare boards; fettered with irons; deprived of every mean of chasing away the gloom of confinement; unable when sick to reveal the cause of their complaints; strangers to any measure of that hope which makes the slave a freeman; ignorant of the

fate which awaited them; filled with fears either of a horrid death or a cruel servitude; and without the most distant prospect of ever visiting their native land, or of beholding the face of one of those friends or relatives from whom they had been forcibly torn!—— It seems scarcely possible for the imagination to conceive a state of more unmitigated suffering than theirs. Their cup was full of pure, unmingled sorrow.—Oh, let us who, though Christians, are apt to be galled and fretted by every disappointment of our wishes, and to feel the risings of peevishness and resentment even on some momentary privation of our accustomed enjoyments, look at the extremity of wretchedness which *these* are fated to endure! And what are we more than these? Do not we labour under the same curse? Are we not by nature heirs of the same wrath and condemnation? And are not these also—even these, abject as they seem—the purchase of a Saviour's blood?

It certainly appeared to be the captain's wish to make the situation of the slaves comfortable. He complained, however, and not without reason, that his wishes were badly seconded by his officers. He took pains to raise their spirits, by giving them to understand, as well as he could, what a fine country they were going to; how well they would be treated; and how much better off they would be there than in Africa. He was at great pains likewise in inducing them to take exercise; which they did, often with much reluctance. He himself, however, never employed harsher measures, till entreaty and example had failed: and even then he used the cat sparingly, choosing rather to tempt them with a display of beads, &c.; which, with

the women and girls, was sometimes effectual. He paid, in general, a ready attention to their complaints, and seemed desirous of finding them out. But his efforts to render their situation agreeable to them were not attended with any success. An air of dejection appeared in the faces of most of them, and even of many of the young.—The slaves were, in general, exceedingly thin, and all of them were covered with disagreeable eruptions. They were very averse to any kind of exercise; and, when they danced, their whole aim seemed to be to make noise enough to please the captain; whom they perceived to favour those most who danced most and sung loudest. On this account, two men, with a chain round their necks—who had been implicated in an insurrection—always exerted themselves very conspicuously in the dance, in the hope of being liberated: they continued, however, to wear it till we got to the end of our voyage. The songs which accompanied their dancing consisted only of one stanza, constantly repeated and loudly vociferated, and had little music in them. Some of the women used to sing very sweetly, and in a plaintive tone, when left to themselves. The subject of their songs I could not learn; but they strongly reminded me of my poor Cæsar's strains at Ravenswood.

Many of the men had on their countenances a fixed gloom, which nothing succeeded to remove, and which formed a melancholy contrast to the dance and song which they were forced to practise. A few of the women appeared totally unconcerned; but many of them far otherwise. These kept themselves aloof (at least as much as was possible) from such as were more noisy;

and when forced to join in the dance, or in the cheers, which preceded their meals, they seemed to feel an indignation, which long-continued habit could not repress, at being forced to behave so childishly. I was deprived of every opportunity of conversing with any of them, except one—who quickly died of dysentery—there being no one on board who could interpret any more of their language than was necessary to make known ordinary wants, and to prefer common requests.

The state of slaves in a slave ship is *necessarily* wretched: and these appeared to feel its miseries with full force. Men loaded with irons, guarded by fire-arms, and ignorant of their destination, must have been more or less than men had they been cheerful. To expect, that, subjected as they all were to the pain of sleeping, without covering of any kind, on a hard plank in a rolling ship; and in a place where the stench for three-fourths of the night was truly horrid: stung too, as they must be, by the bitter recollection of the country and connections from which they were violently separated; and tortured by doubts and fears of what might befal them:—even to expect, I say, that in such a state they should be otherwise than wretched, appears in the highest degree unnatural and absurd. An attempt at insurrection by the men; an attempt at suicide by one of the women; the precautions which are multiplied to keep them from injuring themselves or their keepers; the anxious search, which is renewed day after day over their apartments, for edged tools; would form a sufficiently strong evidence of the light in which Africans regard the hold of a slave ship, even if no indication of their feelings appeared in their

looks; and, independent of every other circumstance, would sufficiently disprove the accounts which have been hardily brought forward respecting the middle passage.

The mortality on board was considerable. In the short space of seven weeks twelve slaves had died; of whom eight died during the three weeks I was on board: and I left them in a very sickly state. This was a mortality of no less than five per cent. in seven weeks; and, though moderate in comparison of the mortality on board some ships, yet was it sufficient to unpeople the earth in less than three years, were it general!—One cause of mortality was the badness of the water, which, in consequence of the casks having been badly cleaned, had so nauseous a smell that I was obliged to confine myself to malt liquor as a beverage. The water was so putrid, that its being boiled, and mixed with wine, or tea, or coffee, could not disguise its taste.

One of the slaves who died was the woman who had been delivered on board. This poor creature's state was pitiable beyond description, for she had the same disadvantages to struggle with as the other slaves. She pined away till she was worn down to a mere shadow; and the day on which she died, I observed them opening her mouth and pouring down her throat the nourishment which she had not strength nor inclination to take. The child survived its mother only two days, but I do not reckon it in the account of mortality. The medical practice on board was certainly very faulty, and probably contributed to the mortality; but it was plain that there was an indifference to life,

or rather an absolute distaste for it, in the patients themselves.

The captain's behaviour towards me continued to be very civil and attentive; and during my illness he was constant in his inquiries and in his offers of service. He paid me the compliment never once to swear while I was on board, and he also repressed the practice among the officers and seamen. I say, he paid me the compliment, because I well knew that he was much addicted to that vice. He was extremely anxious to explain every transaction, as if I were sitting in judgment on what passed around me; and he was ready to construe a question, nay, even a look, into an act of accusation, which required that he should set himself on his defence. Though this extreme eagerness to justify himself was by no means pleasant to me, yet I believe that it proved a salutary restraint on his passions, which I had occasion to know were not of the most placid kind; and was thus a mean of rendering the state both of slaves and seamen, on the whole, more comfortable than it would otherwise have been.

I am confirmed in my belief, that my presence, during the three weeks of the middle passage, had a salutary influence on his conduct, because his behaviour towards his seamen was considered, even by his brother slave-traders, as a great blot in his character; and also because the men, who had mutinied a few days before I came the second time on board, shewed no disposition to make any concession, even when in sight of a man of war. Nay, so eager were they to get from under his power, that eight of them swam on

board a frigate, which lay in the harbour, at the risk of being devoured by sharks; and with a certainty of receiving only one-fourth of their present wages. Three seamen had died, and many more were sickly. The greatest disadvantage they had to struggle with, was the want of a proper place to sleep in. Their hammocks hung over the main-deck, below the long-boat; to which was added, on each side, a piece of an awning. This might keep off dews in a calm night; but could not prevent the damp night-air and rain from reaching them, particularly while the wind was high, as it almost always was at sea.

But, before I finally take leave of the Liberty, I cannot withhold the detail of certain other circumstances, which took place on board during our voyage; and which I relate now, to preserve the story's continuity. In the course of our progress, I had observed, for some days, that the captain was unusually mysterious and absent; and apparently dreading to be asked questions about the economy of the ship. I at last ventured to inquire whether any thing were really going wrong. After a pause, he told me, with some confusion, that so many of the water-casks were leaky, and others already empty, as to convince him of the impossibility of reaching the port without putting us all upon a very short allowance—and I have before mentioned the noisome state of the water. I listened to his story with great alarm; and the narrator, at its close, left me abruptly. I naturally expressed my fears to the mate; whom, by the way, I generally shunned, disliking the man even to disgust. But peril and fear are said to effect strange coalitions; and so I now found it.

The mate and I consulted together; and, in the course of our discussion, he suddenly assumed an expression of countenance between satisfaction and shame; and said, with a scrutinizing look, 'Well, sir, we can but lighten the ship—part with some lumber—with some live-stock.' Unused to such phraseology, and absorbed, at the moment, by the apprehension of speedy want, I scarcely heard his dark and broken hints; and they certainly conveyed to my inexperienced ears no distinct meaning. The subject was dropped—but while the conversation lasted, I felt as though the mate had something to propose which he dare not communicate; or, that he was endeavouring to gain my sanction to a scheme which, after all, his lips refused to explain.

In the middle of one dark, and generally calm, night, I was disturbed by a commotion on deck; but supposing, as on former occasions of noise and bustle, that some sick slaves were brought up for the benefit of the night-breeze and coolness, I did not leave my cot: and as to the captain, he slumbered—as I heard afterwards—till the morning. I rather suspect that the mate, who was skilled in every sort of craft, had drugged his evening glass with laudanum. I lay half-awake, without the least suspicion of what was really the case. However, I overheard, and still without suspicion, a kind of sullen debate among the crew; and, at intervals, caught such interlocutory remarks as these—chiefly, indeed, uttered by the well-known voice of the mate—'If I won't do it, somebody must—what's the use of being so squeamish?—better lose thirty than all die of thirst—necessity has no law, and I thought every fool knew that—it's no more than

old Sanders did last year—Come, bring out the next; he's half dead already—the captain cannot prosecute.' ——After a time these debates ceased. I heard, notwithstanding, a continuation of the bustle on deck; and, now and then, noises resembling the plunge of heavy articles in the water.

In the morning I rallied the mate for keeping such late hours, and playing at midnight gambols on the deck. The man had the hardihood and presence of mind to retain his usual ease of manner. Yet I seemed to be aware of the influence of an under-current in his mind, which almost imperceptibly disturbed the upper surface. Two days after, I managed to find my way, among the Negroes crowded on the deck, to some of their diseased companions under the awning in the long-boat; when I was unexpectedly addressed by a slave already mentioned, who had picked up a little English in Africa, 'Ah, massa, worse lying here than at the bottom of the sea—Quashee happier than me—and Cudjoe and Quamina—and all gone home again, through the salt water—Do let me go next—I heard 'em all dash upon the water—among the sharks.'—— The truth now came out! Captain Y——, having resisted the mate's plan to throw the sick, feeble, and old slaves overboard, his second officer, encouraged and assisted by five or six of the crew, had taken the law into his own hands, and—in his view—saved all our lives by sacrificing about thirty Negroes!*

* Eighteen years before this, the master of a slave-ship, having overshot his port in Jamaica, and afraid of wanting water before he could beat up again to the island, fell sick; but, being helpless himself, ordered his mate to throw overboard forty-six slaves; two days after, thirty-six more; and subsequently

The altercation between this man and myself—for I acquit the commander, whatever degree of tyranny he had otherwise shewn, of all share in this cold-blooded act of murder—need not be described. Neither will I paint the bloody scene of a woman flogged to death by the same person, farther than to introduce, at this point, a similar story, as told by Mr. Southey;—similar, at least, in regard to the crime; for the parallel does not extend beyond it. Mr. Southey writes: 'In September 1798, a minister of Bristol discovered a sailor in the neighbourhood of that city, groaning and praying in a hovel. The circumstance that occasioned his agony of mind is detailed in the annexed ballad, without the slightest addition or alteration. By presenting it as a poem, the story is made more public; and such stories ought to be made as public as possible.

'He stopt!—it surely was a groan
That from the hovel came;
He stopt! and listened anxiously—
Again it sounds the same.

another parcel of forty. Ten others, walking the deck unfettered, jumped in indignantly after them. The ship, after all, brought into port 480 gallons of water. So here were 122 slaves sacrificed—and by a miscalculation about the water!—— The case appeared before the British public, because a trial came on at Guildhall,—*not* of the captain (Collingwood) for murder; but upon a mere civil suit, instituted by the owners, for the purpose of recovering from the underwriters the value of the murdered slaves!—Still more strange, the owners gained their cause; and not a word was said about the crime. The details may be found in 'Substance of Debates, &c.' 1806. 177–180.—Had not the owners taken up the affair, we should have not heard a syllable about it; and let it be well considered, what incredible numbers of lives must have been sacrificed in cases where underwriters were not concerned; or, if concerned, not attacked by the insured party!

It surely from the hovel comes!
And now he hastens there;
And thence he hears the name of Christ,
Amidst a broken prayer.

He enter'd in the hovel now:
A sailor there he sees;
His hands were lifted up to Heaven,
And he was on his knees.

Nor did the sailor, so intent,
His wandering footsteps heed;
But now the Lord's Prayer said, and now
His half-forgotten Creed.

And often on his Saviour call'd,
With many a bitter groan,
In such heart-anguish as could spring
From deepest guilt alone.

He ask'd the miserable man
Why he was kneeling there;
And what the crime had been, that caus'd
The anguish of his pray'r.

"Oh! I have done a wicked thing!
It haunts me night and day!
And I have sought this lonely place,
Here undisturb'd to pray.

I have no place to pray on board;
So I came here alone,
That I might freely kneel and pray,
And call on Christ, and groan.

If to the main mast-head I go,
The wicked one is there:
From place to place, from rope to rope,
He follows every where.

I shut my eyes—it matters not;
Still, still the same I see—

And when I lay me down at night,
'Tis always day with me.

He follows—follows ev'ry where—
And every place is hell!
Oh God, and must I go with him,
In endless fire to dwell!

He follows—follows ev'ry where—
He's still above—below—
Oh tell me where to fly from him!
Oh tell me where to go!"

"But tell me," quoth the stranger then,
"What this thy crime hath been;
So, haply, I may comfort give,
To one that grieves for sin."

"Oh, I have done a cursed deed,"
The wretched man replies,
"And night and day, and ev'ry where,
'Tis still before my eyes.

I sail'd on board a Guinea-man,
And to the slave-coast went—
Would that the sea had swallow'd me,
When I was innocent!—

And we took in our cargo there,
Three hundred Negro slaves;
And we sail'd onward merrily,
Over the ocean waves.

But some were sulky of the slaves,
And would not take their meat;
So therefore we were forc'd, by threats
And blows, to make them eat.

One woman, sulkier than the rest,
Would still refuse her food—
Hark! hark! e'en now I hear her cries!
I see her in her blood!—

The captain made me tie her up,
And flog, while he stood by:
And then he curs'd me if I staid
My hand, to hear her cry.

She groan'd, she shriek'd—I could not spare,
For the captain he stood by—
Oh God! that I might rest one night
From this poor woman's cry!

She twisted from the blows—her blood,
Her mangled flesh I see—
And still the captain would not spare—
Oh! he was worse than me!

She could not be more glad than I,
When she was taken down;
A blessed minute—'twas the last
That I have ever known!

I did not close my eyes all night,
Thinking what I had done:
I heard her groans; and they grew faint
About the rising sun.

She groan'd, and groan'd; but her groans grew
Fainter at morning tide;
Fainter and fainter still they came,
Till at the noon she died.

They flung her overboard—Poor wretch!
She rested from her pain:
But when, Oh when! O blessed God!
Shall I have rest again?

I saw the sea close over her;
Yet she was still in sight—
I see her twisting every where!
I see her day and night!

Go where I will, do what I can,
The wicked one I see—

O Christ, have mercy on my soul!
O God, deliver me!

To-morrow I set sail again,
Not to the Negro shore—
Wretch that I am, I will at least
Commit that sin no more.

Oh give me comfort, if you can—
Oh tell me where to fly—
And bid me hope, if there be hope
For one so lost as I."

"Poor wretch!" the stranger he replied,
"Put thou thy trust in Heaven,
And call on Him for whose dear sake
All sins shall be forgiven.

This night, at least, is thine—Go thou
And seek the house of prayer;
There shalt thou hear the word of God,
And he will help thee there."

I shall now borrow the eloquence of Bryan Edwards, to describe my emotions on approaching the southern side of Jamaica by sea, and beholding from afar the ridges of the blue mountains. 'The sensation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the prospect before me was in the highest degree magnificent, it seemed a scene of magnificent desolation. The abrupt precipice and inaccessible cliff, had more the aspect of a chaos than a creation; or rather seemed to exhibit the effects of some convulsion, which had laid nature in ruins. Appearances, however, improved as we approached; for, amidst ten thousand bold features, too hard to be softened by culture, many a spot was soon discovered where the hand of industry'—my author should have added, under the physical

rror of the whip!—'awakened life and fertility. Vith these pleasing intermixtures, the flowing line of he lower range of mountains (which now began to be isible, crowned with woods of majestic growth) comined to soften and relieve the rude solemnity of the oftier eminences; till at length the savannas at the bottom met the sight. These are vast plains, clothed chiefly with extensive cane-fields; displaying, in all the pride of cultivation, the verdure of spring blended with the exuberance of autumn, and bounded only by the ocean; on whose bosom a new and ever-moving picture strikes the eye; for innumerable vessels are discovered in various directions, some crowding into, and others bearing away from, the bays and harbours with which the coast is every where indented.'

To this shall here be added the same writer's description of the scenery of the northern side of the island. 'The country at a small distance from the shore rises into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness; being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly separated from each other by spacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy; nor is the transition from the hills to the valleys oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances, however, attending these beautiful swells, are the happy disposition of the groves of pimento, with which most of them are spontaneously clothed; and the consummate verdure of the turf beneath, which is discoverable in a thousand openings; presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tints of the pimento. As this tree, which is no less

remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, suffers no rival plant to flourish within its shade, these groves are not only clear of underwood, but even the grass beneath is seldom luxuriant:—the soil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a close and clean turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful surface the pimento spreads itself in various compartments. In one place, we behold extensive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groupes; some of which crown the hills, while others are scattered down the declivities. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies, that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld in the same moment. Those only who have been long at sea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at so enchanting a prospect.—Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rises towards the centre of the island, the eye, passing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood;

> Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
> Cedar, and branching palm:—

an immensity of forest; the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills; and these again are lost in the clouds*.'

* Edwards, i. 186—188.

h is the surpassing beauty of my native island;
ıer, such is the high but unsuccessful effort of
the most eloquent and impassioned writers to
be what remains, on this polluted earth, of a
se now lost! No person who reads the above
raphs will wonder at their influence over the
nation in the vernal season of life; before we
been disgusted by the selfishness of others, or
ne conscious of our own. As to myself, and
direct reference to the unrivalled scenery of Ja-
, how quickly was the charm dissolved, when I
even groves of pimento, with all their fragrance
plendour, no shelter from the sight of human
ing, and from the contagion of human depravity!
know not,' says a late lamented friend, 'if the
ever exhibited to a reflecting mind so melancholy
ne as that which is presented by the islands in
Vestern Hemisphere. Nature indeed there smiles
her beauty. The air pure and elastic; the soil
ng with richness; the romantic and cloud-capt
tains; the circling ocean, freshened by the breeze,
parkling to the sun; all proclaim aloud the be-
nce of their Creator. But man—*man is the only*
h that dwindles here! The deformity of the
world appears but more hideous, when con-
d with the beauty of the natural. There is the
writhing under the lash of the driver; and the
r groaning under the tyranny of passions yet
capricious and cruel. Bondage is the lot of all;
he clouds of a judicial blindness, overshadowing
mournful regions, shut up in a common night

the master and the slave, the oppressor and the oppressed*.'

In proceeding to paint the *moral* state of the West Indies, I shall begin by describing the character and manners of the White inhabitants; and, to obviate the prejudice naturally created against myself as an Abolitionist, and which would of course hesitate to receive my own depositions, I shall call to the witnesses' bar Mr. Stewart, and other deponents of the same unexceptionable class †.—Mr. Stewart writes: 'The most gross and open licentiousness continues (1821) to prevail among all ranks of the Whites. The males, of course, are exclusively meant. Every unmarried White man, and of every class, has his Black or his Brown mistress, with whom he lives openly: and of so little consequence is this thought, that his White female friends and relations think it no breach of decorum to visit his house, fondle his children, and converse with his *housekeeper*—as if that conduct, which they regarded as disgraceful in their own class, was not so in the female of colour. The example of a few ladies of

* Christ. Obs. 1807, 327. The article was written by the late John Bowdler, Esq. junior,—the Marcellus of his time!

† If the citations in the text have been regulated by Dr. Johnson's remark on Comus,—that it 'excites no distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and takes no dangerous hold on the fancy,'—I shall be satisfied; but the intelligent reader will understand the great difficulty of giving an adequate account of the nature and excess of colonial profligacy, without making the description of sin contagious. In moral, as in medical practice, it is indeed necessary to define the disease, in order to a remedy: and the only question is, how far definitions of wickedness may safely be extended. I can only say, that I have omitted much evidence which was judged inexpedient to be published; and veiled many expressions in the citations themselves.

a juster way of thinking has little weight in discountenancing this levelling sort of familiarity. But the most striking proof of the low estimate of moral obligation here, is the fact, that the man who lives in open adultery—that is, who keeps his Brown or Black mistress, in the very face of his wife and family and of the community—has generally as much outward respect shewn him, and is as much countenanced, visited, and received into company, especially if he be a man of some weight and influence in the community, as if he had been guilty of no breach of decency! If a gentleman pays his addresses to a lady, it is not thought necessary, as a homage to her delicacy, to get rid, *a priori*, of his illicit establishment; nor is the lady so *unreasonable* as to expect such a sacrifice: the Brown lady remains in the house till within a few days of the marriage; and, if she is of an accommodating disposition, even assists in making preparations for the reception of the bride; in which case there may be a tolerably good understanding between them; and the wife may even condescend to take in good part the occasional calls, inquiries, and proffered services of the ex-favourite, and make suitable returns of kindness to her and her children*.'——'Among the Negroes, says Dr. Williamson, 'licentious appetites are promiscuously gratified; and the truth requires that it should not be concealed, the Whites on estates follow the same habits, on many occasions, to a greater extent. Black or Brown mistresses are considered necessary appendages to every establishment: even a

* Stewart, 173.

young book-keeper, coming from Europe, is generally instructed to provide himself; and, however repugnant may seem the idea at first, his scruples are overcome, and he conforms to general custom*.'——'The accusation generally brought,' says Bryan Edwards, 'against the free People of Colour, is the incontinency of their women; of whom such as are young, and have tolerable persons, are universally maintained by White men of all ranks and conditions as kept mistresses. The fact is too notorious to be concealed or controverted.—That this system ought to be utterly abolished, I most readily admit. But by whom is a reform to be begun and accomplished? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our present inquiries; who are conscious of no vices which their Christian instructors have not taught them†.'

Into the bosom of society, thus faithfully described, was I received on my arrival in Jamaica! Circumstances obliged me to remain at Kingston, and on a neighbouring plantation, three weeks, before I could go home. In this interval Cæsar arrived from England. Ever since I went to Oxford, he had remained in Ravenswood parish; where he obtained regular employment. He was dissuaded from the visionary scheme of returning to Africa; where he would only have been mocked by false hopes of re-visiting his native village

* 'Medical and Miscellaneous Observations, relative to the West-India Islands; by John Williamson, M. D. &c. late of Spanish Town, Jamaica.' 2 vols. 8vo. 1817. i. 42.—Dr. W appears to have resided in the island nearly fourteen years: and is a decided anti-abolitionist.

† Edwards, i. 21–23.—The evidence, to the same effect, by anti-colonial witnesses, may be found in Appendix VIII.

or—what was far more likely—would, a second time, have been kidnapped, and exposed to the horrors of the middle passage. A Liverpool captain tried, indeed, to decoy him back to the Windward Coast; but Cæsar was not to be blinded, and our agent sent him direct to Kingston.

At this place the principal part of my time was spent with one of my relations; who was too shrewd an observer of mankind not to detect the involuntary expressions of surprise, disgust, and indignation exhibited in my countenance at what I witnessed under his roof, and more especially on the surrounding estates. Indeed, I found myself in scenes where every thing wore the appearance of barbarity, and slavish oppression. I felt myself escaped from a slave ship into a slave country. My relation, calculating on the supposed privileges of affinity, used no disguise in attacking my prejudices—absurd prejudices, as he called them;—and deriding—another of his phrases—my extra-superfine humanity; which, he said, might do very well to gull the dupes in England, but was quite out of place where I was.

At our dinner parties, he studiously gave toasts and *sentiments* perfectly consistent with the feelings and ingrained habits of a planter; and when the company began to feel the influence of liquor, I uniformly became the butt of their ridicule. I remember, on one occasion, his proposing that the immortal memory of Laurence Sterne should be drunk—and in solemn silence. None of us could divine the humour of this proposal, till the toast-master, looking at me with affected gravity, broke out into, '*Dear Sensibility!*

source inexhaustible of all our joys!—only, mass George'—for he had found out my Ravenswood name —'it seems to be the source inexhaustible of all your *sorrows*; and that's all the difference between you and Sterne. For my part, I should have thought your friends in England might have kept their tears for home consumption. Were you ever, sir, in a workhouse, or factory; or hounded by a press-gang?—Well, gentlemen, my next toast is, The cause of liberty all over the world, with three times three.'——This speech was received with the most triumphant bursts of laughter; and I retired—for I could not sit out these bacchanalian revels—as one who, in the opinion of my companions, had been refuted beyond their fondest hopes.

Such a state of things—I mean, the systematic immorality every where prevailing, recognized and defended—by no means surprised me. It was the regular re-action of a system established by oppression, sensuality, and fraud. These were the *makers of manners*. The climate also contributed its influence; and I was reminded of the also luxurious isles of the Pacific, where nature likewise wantoned as in her prime; and where appetite, unrestrained by principle, and stimulated by the ready means of gratification, discovered man's original degradation and guilt *.

* Yet in these isles Christianity has obtained such signal triumphs, that they are adduced by modern apologists for the Gospel as practical arguments in its favour, not to be refuted. Why may not similar effects flow from a similar source in the West Indies? Because, the stream no sooner begins to refresh the land, than it is interrupted by the very persons who ought to give it free course. Were it otherwise, Jamaica might rival Tahiti; and through either country might wind 'a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.'

In the graver hours of business, my relative gave me many an unasked lesson on the management of my father's estate; for it now more decidedly appeared that my lot was to take his place; his affairs having become embarrassed. This was one main reason of my having been hastily called home. My relative especially instructed me, that I should find among the Negroes every vice which could pollute the human character. They were, he averred, cruel, vain, oppressive, intemperate, licentious—in fact, every thing, as I whispered to myself, which he was, and all the society around him. But such, I allow, I *did* find them. Why? Because they were bone of *my* bone, and flesh of *my* flesh. I was given to understand, that these children of Ham monopolized almost the entire aggregate of human guilt. I knew better. They were men, and men in their natural state; and *therefore* they were vile and reprobate, the children of wrath, even as others; but no further. I had only, as before intimated, to extend the field of vision to regions inhabited by the posterity of Shem; to find, in China, and Hindostan, and their bordering countries, an exact counterpart to what was directly before my eyes in the Negro character. And as to the sons of Japhet, in Europe—and in the most moralized portion of Europe, the British Islands—our common nature, when uninfluenced by religious principle, shewed its common origin. What are the manufacturers, who, in the opinion of many, form the basis of our national prosperity?* And, with regard to our villagers—I appeal

* Of these it has been observed, that, from their thoughtless and dissolute habits, they have exhibited the improvidence and

to those clergymen who, like the Vicar of Ravens have taken the guage of human corruption in sec parishes, whether, in these fancied retreats of cence, they have not found what our opponents dis only in Africa.

I was also assured by my relative, that these outcasts were barely on an intellectual level wit more sagacious of the brute creation. 'And ye it be believed,' says an eloquent apologist, 'ths contemned race can, as to intellect and genius, e a brighter ancestry than our own? that they ar offshoots, wild and untrained, it is true, but sti offshoots of a stem, which was once luxuriant i fruits of learning and taste; whilst that from whi Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained and knotted, and barren? For is Africa witho heraldry of science and of fame? The only pr account which can be given of the Negro trit

recklessness of savages, in the midst of civilization, and the very shadow of the Cross. It has been in evidence t Parliamentary Committee, that their luxurious mode of li times of commercial prosperity, far exceeded that of pe the middle class of society; and that they never res shilling for future days. This may account for much recent distress; which, in many instances, has bee liberally relieved by such as have witnessed, and endeavc check, at other times, their folly and profligacy. Neither any reason to expect, that, on the return of full employm wages, any remembrance would remain of past misery. I which to-day might be seen gnawing a decayed cabba to sustain life, would to-morrow be found drenched in thei sins; provided to-morrow brought them the means of r sensuality.—It is well known, that when collections wer by authority of the King's Letter, for the relief of these many persons refused to subscribe; alleging the incu centiousness of the manufacturers, and asserting that public bounty would be carried directly to the ale-ho dram-shop.

that as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country of the world: they reared its pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and through them to us! The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes on the field, given bishops to the church, and martyrs to the fires. And, for Negro physiognomy, as though *that* could shut out the light of intellect, go to your national museum; contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms; and there see, in close resemblance to the Negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creations of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste, and grandeur. In imperishable porphyry and granite is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the Negro under cultivation. If he now presents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting: that solves the whole case: for even now, when education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted Negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed, in the persons of African Negroes, generals, physicians, philosophers, linguists, poets, mathematicians, and merchants; all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character. And even the mission

schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel *.'

* * * * * * * *

As my father's residence was situated in the northern part of the island, I had to travel across its beautiful regions; and began my journey one evening by the light of the moon. No one, who has merely seen its orb through a northern atmosphere, can imagine its radiance within the tropics. In its absence, an extraordinary degree of light is supplied by the brightness of the milky way; and by the splendour of the planet Venus, which appears like a secondary moon, and glitters with such effulgence as to cast a shade from trees and other objects. In the course of my route, and when I was in the interior of the country, I witnessed also another phenomenon of the island,—the innumerable fire-flies abounding at night; filling the air on all sides, like so many living stars; and far more luminous than the glow-worm, brilliant as that insect is in some parts of southern Britain.

But, oh, how is all the glory of the land darkened by the influence of slavery! The very first night of my journey, as I was sleeping at a house embosomed in the loveliest scenery, I was awaked, at midnight, by a great tumult, as of arms, with cries of women and children. In a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me, that it was the marshal's deputies making a levy on the Negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for

* See Appendix IX.

some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my host, and we determined to go out. By the time we arrived at the Negro-houses the resistance had ceased; for the Negroes, being divided, had been overcome. Many of the men escaped from the property; and a few others, with some women, secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and many of the women and children; amounting in the whole to between thirty and forty; who were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene as I never witnessed before. Some of the children had lost their mothers; and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children—for some of the little ones also escaped. One woman, in particular—a house-woman—had six or seven children: two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped; but the youngest, an infant, had been caught; and she wept aloud and very bitterly, saying, that she must give up herself if the child was not got back, for she could not live separated from it. Most of the men were sullen, and only wanted arms to obtain their freedom from the savage Whites and their associates, who now guarded them. As it was, two or three of the poor fellows were wounded. They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish-Town gaol *. The same kind of

* On facts such as these let us hear the indignant commentary of Edwards:—

'All regulations which can be devised for the protection of this important class of people will be of little avail,

incident occurred to Mr. Bickell; and I record my own adventure almost in his words.

With feelings such as I cannot describe, I beheld on the Sunday morning, three days since my departure from the vicinity of Kingston, the waters of the Lagoon glittering to the sun; and then also opened upon me the scenes of early childhood! I recognized them, though but faintly. Every thing looked the same, and yet different. The buildings, and trees, notwithstanding the growth of the latter, seemed to be smaller, and comparatively insignificant. The lake was strangely narrowed; and the cane-fields contracted. However, as I proceeded slowly towards the house, and approached, in my way thither, a kind of large shed,—what was my astonishment to hear the air of a Psalm tune well known at Ravenswood church—it was Bedford—be-

unless, as a preliminary measure, they be exempted from the cruel hardship of being sold by creditors, and made subject, in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts, both of simple contract and specialty. This grievance, so remorseless and tyrannical in its principle, and so dreadful in its effects, is upheld and confirmed by a British Act of Parliament. Thus the odious severity of the Roman law, which declared sentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to Christianity! In a few years a good Negro gets comfortably established, has built himself a house, obtained a wife, and begins to see a young family rising about him. In this situation, he is seized on by the sheriff's officer, forcibly separated from his wife and children, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, and sent perhaps to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light of Heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. I do not believe that any case of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater misery than this! It occurs every day; and under the present system will continue to occur.—Let this statute be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character; it is disgraceful to humanity.'—ii. 153, 4.

ginning to swell upon the ear, and conveying the familiar words of the eighty-fourth Psalm: —

'How pleasant is thy dwelling-place,
O Lord of Hosts, to me;
The tabernacles of thy grace,
How pleasant, Lord, they be!'

The missionary system of the present day had, at the period in question, scarcely dawned; and, when I left the Lagoon, my father was as indifferent to all religion as the heathen bondsmen on the estate. Yet I now heard the Lord's song as in a strange land!

When the strain had ceased—and by its close I was within a few yards of the shed—I heard a final prayer; and the service was over. My parents, and the two sisters whom I had never before seen, then appeared at the wide entrance of their rude temple. I retired till the Negroes had dispersed; and then sprung into the arms of my family.——Oh what an interview! I cannot detail what passed till I found myself on a sofa, in the verandah of the house; seated between my father and my mother, and with my sisters Sophia and Elizabeth kneeling before me, each holding a hand; and—for by this time the news of my expected arrival had fled with the speed of lightning among the domestic and field-slaves recently assembled —groupes of Negroes standing at a distance, and thence venturing to contemplate the scene.

In a few days, composure succeeded to the first emotions of mingled pleasure and pain. My father was yet alive. My mother had embraced me with all the tenderness of earliest years. My sisters had become acquainted with me, and felt they had really now

a brother. Mahali—Daniel—were among the first who were allowed to greet my return. They were both well; retained their respective situations in the household; and had nursed and amused the children who had taken, for a time, my place in the family. I had not been twelve hours restored to home before I evidently saw, and quite independently of the worship in the shed, that a moral atmosphere was diffused over the domestic establishment, as well as over those at its head.

'George,' said my father one evening, as we sat together by ourselves, 'do you remember much of me when I sent you away with your aunt?'—'Very little, very little indeed, my father. I remember how angry you used to be with Daniel, when he had been in mischief; but you seldom punished him, because he was so fond of me. I remember very little besides.'—'So much the better,' said my father—and his eyes filled with tears;—'for what was I at that time?—a practical infidel; entirely devoted to worldly things. I was brought up, as you know, in this country from my earliest infancy; and imbibed the general opinions of those around me. As to religion, I was totally in the dark about it. I considered our Negro brethren as beings placed in a lower scale; made only for our service; beasts of burden and labour, and incapable of mental culture. Yet, from my own animal good-nature, I was even then disposed to do them kindness—just as a man of humanity, but without Christian principle, treats well his dogs and horses, and cannot bear to see dumb animals ill used. So I never went great lengths in cruelty.—I first, however, began to

flect seriously on the enormity of guilt and misery belonging to our *system*, by a circumstance which took place in the family. Your eldest sister, Sophia, was born about four years after you left us; and she seemed to be sent for our especial consolation. When she was about ten months old, I went to a sale of slaves, to buy a Negress; in the place of one just dead, who used to be about the house. I saw there a young Mandingo woman standing with an air of the deepest dejection; with a little boy clinging to her, about five years old. I bought the mother, but did not want the child. I hearkened not to her cries and entreaties, for—though I had my feelings on the occasion—I knew that we *must have* a Negress; and so I had her forced away, and taken to the Lagoon: and a terrible scene it was, one of the worst—perhaps the very worst—I ever remember. An hour after she was gone, I followed the party home; and within a mile of the house met a young slave running towards the town. 'What's the matter, what's the matter, Cudjoe?'—'Oh, oh! little miss has been taken with fit, and dies if the doctor can't come—and come in one minute!'—I spurred my horse to a gallop, and was at home as in a moment. I heard the cries of your mother; and they sounded to me as the echoes of those uttered by the Negress at the sale. When I burst into the apartment, I saw your sister convulsed, and gasping on her mother's lap. But, not losing my presence of mind, and knowing something of medicine, I administered in an instant a desperate remedy —but it succeeded: the babe opened her eyes! The surgeon, on his arrival, said I had done quite right.

I believe, that for the first time in my life I then felt that I owed thanks to God for his goodness; and your mother felt the same. But—and now observe what human sympathy will do, even upon a plantation worked by slaves, and when awakened and directed by a Divine power—the moment I saw your sister was safe, I rode back to the place of sale, and just came in time to redeem the Negro child from the hands of a person about to purchase him. I paid his price with a degree of joy never before connected with slave affairs —it was quite a new sensation—I wondered at my high excitement! However, I rode back in triumph, the little boy running behind—and I even looked back and cheered him. On reaching the house I found *his* mother dumb, but desperate with grief. The book-keeper had met me as I came in sight, and told me, with a flood of curses upon her, that she was the most troublesome woman we had ever bought. I really heard the fellow with disgust and anger, and thought—but I dare not say it—'*You* have no child;' though, in fact, he had a numerous family. I dare not even tell your mother what I had done; but here, as I found afterwards, I wronged her.—I soon gave the little Negro to his mother; when such a burst, such a gust of feeling took place, as I have never before or since witnessed! And then, when the emotion had tolerably subsided, oh, with what a look of gratitude did the Negress fall at my feet! From that day I certainly became gradually enlightened — But we will talk more about it to-morrow.

At this point I beg leave to illustrate farther the unspeakable cruelty attached to that part of the co-

lonial system which, *at this hour*, allows the dispersion of a Negro family among various owners. I would remind the reader of the strong sensation created in London, and throughout the country, whenever the public journals bring forward articles headed 'LOST CHILD'—'ABDUCTION OF A FEMALE'—and similar announcements.

Let us suppose a case; and let such as charge it with extravagance appeal to the general sense of mankind to decide upon its accuracy.—During the parliamentary session of 18—, I was looking over, at a London hotel, a morning paper in the interest of the West-India party; when the following paragragh faintly attracted my notice:—'We beg to call our readers' very serious attention to the speech of the Marquess of G——, during the animated debate of last night in the House of Lords; in reference to the often refuted calumnies of the anti-slavery faction on the dispersion of Negro families. "I did not expect," said his Lordship, "to be again compelled to advert to the unfounded complaints of our opponents on this subject; as it must be well known to your lordships that the cause of their querulousness no longer exists. So far back, at least, as 1794*, the colonial legislatures

* Edwards, ii. 127, 128.—The author speaks of an Act, originally proposed by himself, to our Assembly; 'by which the Guinea factors are compelled, under the solemnity of an oath, to do their utmost to enforce' the non-separation of families, &c.—as though an oath were of greater potency in Jamaica than in a custom-house at home; or more efficient in the above instance than in other departments of a dead-letter jurisprudence!—'It will not be said that the low and uneducated Whites, in most countries, are, in intellect and principle, greatly superior to the bulk of the Negro slaves.' Stewart, 227. But let it be remembered, that the Whites, so described, are professed members of the Christian church—the Negroes remaining in pagan darkness!

effectually provided against any future separations by measures the most efficient. But even," as his Lordship most pertinently added, "if these separations were yet recognised either in law or practice, it will not, I think, be asserted, that the evil has really assumed the magnitude described by the exaggerations of an affected humanity. If a Negro parent lose a child, it is, I allow, a privation. But to what extent? The child is not sold to a new proprietor as a sacrifice—no, my lords: not the most whining theorist will argue this. The child merely passes into new hands, pledged, by the now humane regulations of the slave code, to use it with tenderness; and this might alone moderate the parents' grief. But I would farther urge, that we are not to measure the animal emotion of the uncultivated and barbarized Negro—barbarized previously to his expatriation, by the vices and oppressions of his native country—according to the scale of domestic feeling at home. The African is a parent—so also is a still inferior creature; and, in both cases, the sensation towards offspring is purely of a physical character; the moral does not combine with it. It might be properly denominated instinct,—a kind of emotion perfectly distinct from the sensibility possessed by ourselves*. I therefore support the amendment; and trust the Noble Earl opposite will excuse the suggestion I offer to the party he has too unadvisedly patronized,—that objects of distress nearer home seem to demand a share, at least, of the philanthropy wasted among the sable population of the west†."——We record, with

* 'The affection and solicitude of a Negro mother towards her infant is ardent even to enthusiasm.' Stewart, 250.

† See Appendix X.

high satisfaction this spirited and manly avowal of the Noble Peer's sentiments; and are confident, that the whole address will be very influential, in directing the national opinion on a point, where the intrigues of party have been too successful in palming upon public credulity the most unblushing falsehoods.'

I was so accustomed to such speeches, and to such comments, that I should never have looked at the above paragraph a second time, had I not found in the *Courier* of the same evening this statement:—'MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCE IN HIGH LIFE—DISAPPEARANCE OF A CHILD—AFFLICTION OF A NOBLE FAMILY.—It is our painful duty to announce the following very extraordinary occurrence. On the return, last night, of the Marquess of G——, from the House of Lords, to his mansion in Grosvenor Square, his Lordship found the household in the utmost consternation, from the circumstance of his Lordship's only child, Lady Sophia C——, having been missed since about four o'clock. It appears that she was taken out, as usual, by two nursery maids, and attended by a footman, to the Parks, about one, and expected to be brought home in the space of two hours; but to this moment nothing has been heard of her! It is impossible to depict the suffering occasioned to the Noble Marquess, and the whole family, by this severe calamity, as it is now evident that the child has been stolen. Information of the event was sent, at an early hour of the evening, to the Home Department, and to the magistrates at Bow Street; and the Executive immediately became on the alert for the detection of the parties implicated in this atrocity. Suspicion, we un-

derstand, is attached to certain persons connected also with the household; but, at this stage of the investigation, we judge it prudent to withhold the information in our possession. Orders have already been dispatched to the out-ports, in case the conspirators should endeavour to leave the kingdom; and too much praise cannot be awarded to his Majesty's Government for their prompt attention in this very distressing affair. The Marchioness returned from a rout exactly half an hour after his Lordship's arrival from the House, and has remained ever since in a state bordering on distraction. The family physician has remained with her Ladyship ever since; and forebodes, we understand, the most fatal consequences, should the child not be restored. We cannot take leave, even for the present, of this appalling subject, without expressing our fervid wish that the Legislature may, without delay, adopt measures for inflicting the most severe punishment in cases of similar enormity.'——

'COURIER OFFICE, HALF PAST FOUR.

'We stop the press, with the most grateful satisfaction, to announce the restoration of Lady Sophia C—— to the bosom of her noble and afflicted mother. The event took place about an hour ago. It is needless to add, that public anxiety has been most intense; and we deem it highly honourable to the moral state of feeling among us, that, on this occasion, all ranks and parties have been absorbed in one common sympathy.—Particulars in our next.'

I shall not copy the lengthened details, in the usual newspaper style, which appeared in the daily journals for successive days, but subjoin only the following ex-

tracts:—'We understand that the medical attendants on the Noble Marchioness found it necessary to compose her agonized feelings by the most powerful opiates; and that her Ladyship frequently exclaimed, during moments of disturbed slumber, "Where is she! where is she! Give me my child!—give me my child!—Oh, she is dead!—I have no child left!"—with other lamentations, too distressing to be recorded.'—'During the conveyance of the prisoners to Bow Street, it was with the greatest difficulty that the populace could be restrained from offering them violence. One of the nurses, indeed, received a serious blow from a missile, thrown into the hackney-coach, within a few yards of the office.'—'The footman, on his examination, had the audacity to declare, that, having heard the Noble Peer ridicule, at table, the idea of supposing the separation of Black women from their children to be attended with any real pain either to parent or offspring,—that his Lordship's remark first put into his head a plan for stealing the Marquess's own child! The fellow, it seems, conspired, with the two nurses, to attempt the concealment of Lady Sophia, in order to claim the reward which, it was supposed, would be offered for her restoration. In this, however, these nefarious persons were baffled; as they were detected by the fortunate treachery of a fourth individual, whom they endeavoured to make a party to their atrocious plot.'—— Such, then, was the *sensation* occasioned throughout the empire by the stealing of a child in London!

Yet, when a missionary, Mr. Gilgrass, witnessed, many years after the passing of the Act referred to in

the preceding detail, the agonies of a Negress on the loss of *her* children; he durst not be seen looking at her! Let us hear his account:—'A master of slaves who lived near us in Kingston, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This "turned her heart within her," and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard; tore her hair; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, "*Da wicked massa Jew; he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity Negar? What me do? Me no have one child!*" As she stood before the window, she said, lifting up her hands towards heaven, "*My massa, do, my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so*" (shaking herself violently), "*my heart do so, because me have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut, and me no see 'em.*" And then her cry went up to God. I durst not be seen looking at her!'

After this affecting story, it may seem paradoxical to assert, that an evil, of greater malignity than the most cruel disruption of nature's ties, exists in the colonies. But that such is the case will appear from

what follows, on the state of religious instruction throughout the West Indies.

According to evidence laid before Parliament in 1815 and 1818, it appears, that in many islands there is neither church nor clergyman! In the large island of Dominica*, 'We have only,' said Governor Orde, in 1788, 'one Protestant clergyman; and he has no salary.' 'There has been no Protestant church,' said Governor Barnes, in 1811, 'in the island for very many years; and previously to my taking charge of the government, there had been no clergyman resident for a considerable time.' 'There is,' said Governor Maxwell, in 1817, 'no Protestant church: Divine service is performed in the court-house in the town of Roseau.'——Of St. Vincent Mr. B. Edwards writes: 'The island is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church; and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780.' In the returns to Parliament by President Paul (1815) no mention is made of any church whatever. Of the five parishes, three are without a clergyman. For the other two there is a single incumbent. The population is 27,455.——In Grenada, in six very extensive parishes, comprising 26,910 souls, there are only two benefices. In three, at least, of these parishes, the governor states (1818) that there is neither church, chapel, nor parsonage.——In Demerara and Essequibo, there is only one church and one clergyman (1818) for all the free inhabitants and 77,376 slaves.——In Berbice, one Dutch clergyman (1815), officiating in the Dutch lan-

* I cite, in the instance of Dominica, the evidence of two governors of dates earlier than 1815.

guage, is the only minister of religion among 25,959 souls.——In Trinidad (1818) there is no church.

With regard to Jamaica, each parish has a rector, and, very recently, a curate. Assuming the whole population, of all colours, to be 400,000, there are 19,000 souls in each parish. 'The ostensible object,' says Mr. Stewart, 'of the curates' appointment was, that they should instruct the slaves—an object which, from whatever cause, has been rendered in a great measure abortive. Either the curates are lukewarm in the cause, or the planters do not wish their slaves to be occupied by religious discussions—or, which is most probable, both of these causes have operated to render the intentions of the legislature nugatory. The curates have dwindled into mere assistants to the rectors; who were, before their appointment, fully able to perform all their clerical duties. By a law of some standing, the rectors are required to set apart two hours of every Sunday to the religious instruction of slaves*; but this law is very little attended to: the

* It ought to be known, that no less than 120 years before the Curates' Act was passed, the 45th clause of the Slave Law of 1696 required, that 'all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the Christian religion; to facilitate their conversion; and shall do their utmost to fit them for baptism; and, as soon as conveniently they can, shall cause to be baptized all such as they make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith.' This clause was repeated in almost every subsequent consolidation of the slave laws: but it remained, even according to Mr. Bridges, absolutely a dead letter until about twenty years ago; or rather, it continues to this hour little more than a dead letter, a mere mockery both of legislation and of the Christian religion. This 45th clause was inserted into the Consolidated Slave Act of 1788, and of 1792. A copy of the latter may be found in Edwards, ii. 158.—If all the pro-

truth is, that, however willing the rectors might be to perform this duty, very few of the slaves have it in their power to attend church; for Sunday is not a day of rest to the plantation slave; he must work on that day, or starve.' (150.)

As a further illustration of this wretched state of things, I subjoin a specimen—and only a specimen—of the representations made to Government by the colonial clergy. 'The slaves,' says the Rev. William Chaderton*, of Antigua, 'are in a state of the grossest ignorance; their minds are totally destitute of all cultivation. To crowd them into a church, therefore, without some previous preparation, would be a procedure equally useless and absurd. Our Liturgy would be wholly unintelligible to them; and the addresses from the pulpit, which surely must be adapted, in some degree, to the superior information of our more enlightened hearers, would be, to them, as unedifying as if they were preached in a foreign tongue. It must be obvious, therefore, that the ordinary system of instruction pursued in our churches.....presents great

visions of these Acts had been uniformly and impartially put in force, the whole aspect of colonial society would, by this time, have been totally changed. But thirty-five years have since passed away; and nothing is done. All colonial legislation, as Cowper and Burke argued, is full of sound and emptiness. *It is totally destitute of an executory principle.*—'The list of successive Acts,' said Mr. Ellis (Debate, 15th May 1823), 'shews that, in Jamaica particularly, they have not been idle.' *Quarterly Review*, No. 58. 482.—It is only in the execution that they have been idle.

* All the extracts, in the text, from the dispatches of the colonial clergy, are taken from the Parliamentary Papers of June 10, 1818; and were written in consequence of a circular letter from Earl Bathurst, dated April 7, 1817, addressed to the governors of the islands.

obstacles to the slaves deriving any degree of religious improvement from the regular clergy; and a little reflection will shew, that it is absolutely impossible we should adopt any *extraordinary* measures for the accomplishment of this great and important purpose. Our Saviour's remark applies with peculiar force and propriety to us, in our situation, with respect to slaves: *The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few.* The slaves, in fact, abound to that degree, that the single exertions of the rectors in the several parishes, supposing them to be pressed with the most ardent zeal, could never be adequate to supply their spiritual wants, and attend to those of the White and free People of Colour, who constitute their regular charge. If this class of people are to be instructed by the Established Clergy, we must undergo a thorough metamorphosis: we must entirely alter our present habits and manners, and assimilate ourselves to the Negroes. We must give a complete turn to the train of our ideas, and bring them down to a level with those of the slave. We must acquire new methods of thinking, of reasoning, and of expressing ourselves; and when we have effected this change, to make any progress in our work, we must go in continual and painful pursuit of reasonable opportunities to address the people; and we must altogether abandon the care of our present congregations: as it would be utterly impossible to attend to both, unless we were endued with those extraordinary powers which ceased with the first propagators of Christianity. It must, then, be evident, to any one who candidly considers these circumstances, that the project of attaching the slaves to the Church of England

an never be carried into effect by means of the Esta-lished Clergy at present existing in this country. I ill venture to add, that it could only be accomplished y a distinct and separate establishment; by a sufficient umber of ministers appointed, I had almost said edu-ated, for the sole and exclusive purpose of instructing he Negroes.'

'The attendance of the Negroes at church,' says the Rev. William Nash, of Cariacon, 'is very occasional. When I remonstrate, they reply, that if they come to church, they must starve, for Sunday is the only day they have to cultivate their gardens. The plea is so reasonable that I cannot oppose it; but I heartily wish their masters would deprive them of it, by allowing them one day in each week to labour for themselves. That means may be found to facilitate the conversion of the Negroes I have no doubt; but our excellent Liturgy is totally beyond their comprehension; and were we to address our congregations in language which the Negroes could only imperfectly conceive, there is no person of any erudition, or even of a moderate understanding, who, unless his patience was supported by his piety, would bear to hear us.'

'Sunday,' says the Rev. Benj. Webster of Grenada, 'is the general public market-day in the different parishes throughout the island, and almost the only one on which slaves have an opportunity of bartering the produce of the provision grounds allotted to them by their masters. These markets are generally at their height during the performance of Divine service, and being holden on the Sabbath-day, little attention or respect is shewn by slaves to the religious duties of the day.'

'As rector of a parish,' says the Rev. T. P. Williams, Rector of Clarendon in Jamaica, 'containing a population of eighteen thousand souls, I have time but little more than sufficient to discharge the common functions of my office, in burying, marrying, and christening, and attending on Sundays my church, which is at least ten miles from my rectory. Within the last thirteen months I have twice made known to the principal proprietors and attorneys in this parish, my readiness to attend on such properties, for the religious instruction of the slaves, as they would permit me to visit; but I have not been able to obtain the consent of more than two of them!'*

* * * * * * * *

The morrow is now come, and my father shall proceed with *his* tale. 'Soon after,' he continued, 'my heart had been in some measure softened by the incidents attending your sister's illness, certain persons, calling themselves Missionaries, arrived in the island; and, in the course of their progress from one estate to another, called upon me; and asked leave to instruct the slaves. I had before heard of these men from some neighbouring planters; as well as from an overseer of my own, who told me, that they were well known to be fellows who, having outrun the constable, and defrauded the gallows of its due on English ground, had come to try their fortune among the Blacks: adding, that they had been already caught, on three different estates, trying to stir up the Negroes to an insurrection.—I did not pretend then, nor do I pretend

* See Appendix XI.

now, to read men's characters in their faces. In an odd volume of Shakespeare, which lay about the house, I had observed, 'a man may smile, and smile, and be a villain;' but when the two strangers shewed themselves, I thought of another saying, I believe in Hamlet, where somebody talks of 'a countenance rather in sorrow,'—for such was generally the aspect of the missionaries.

'They were, however, in conversation, men of decidedly good sense; and though I plied them most closely with questions, they answered without hesitation or quibble; and referred me to a gentleman in the island—whom I had long secretly honoured, notwithstanding he was nick-named on account of his respect for religion—as known to themselves, and their patrons at home. They were the very first persons who had appeared at the Lagoon in the character of Christian instructors. Their credentials were only the appointment given them by the Wesleyans—a sect which had been represented to me as exceedingly inimical to morality, and building their whole system on mystical feelings and visions. 'Therefore,' said an attorney to me, one day, 'if you wish to corrupt your slaves, and turn them loose upon the mountains, and have the trouble of hounding the Maroons after them, why—take my advice—and give the Methodists bed and board for only a month; and repent at your leisure.' The wretched man who gave me this counsel was like those serpents who carry about them an antidote to their own poison. He prejudiced me at once in favour of the new comers; for had *he* received and retained them, I should immediately have detected them, on

the old principle of—" tell me who are your fi
and I will tell you what you are." It is very tru
I myself had no claim to domesticate these me
any definable sympathy with their doctrine an
sonal character: but this I can say, that I di
despise and reject them unheard; and when
heard them, I at least began to wish for a bett
quaintance with the religion they taught. I gave
ultimately a kind reception.

'And here, my son, I ought not to hide fro
the fact, that the letters which I received fro
tutor at Ravenswood—for he wrote oftener tha
are aware of—had concurred in leading me to *th*
and thinking is a great step towards the knowle
Christianity. Unconsciously to myself, I like
conversation of the missionaries, because — tho
did not lay these things together at the time -
seemed as if they were of the same religion
Dr. S——; and *that* he had contrived to offer
examination with all the delicacy, address, and
ousness which indicate what the Scripture calls
spirit of a sound mind.' I told the strangers
first interview, that I was jealous of intruders,
thorized by our ecclesiastical governors; though
I should, when you left us, have resisted and sp
away even a prelate in his robes, if he ha
sumed to breathe the least censure at me or m
ceedings! But the missionaries unreservedly a
me, that they had nothing to tell the Blacks, bu
was in the Bible and Prayer-book; and they i
me to scrutinize—with those books in my ha
every jot and tittle of their scheme of instru

for they were willing to stand or fall by such a criterion.

'The result was, that one of them remained at the Lagoon, and established the congregation which you saw and heard on the Sunday of your arrival. And—and'—but here his voice began to falter—'I trust that *both* your parents have been brought under the influence of the common salvation—I say, the common salvation; for I see it written as by the finger of God—and indeed he inspired the writer—that THERE is neither barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all! Away then—you must and will excuse my earnestness—with the partition wall which some men would build between Ham and ourselves: Jesus Christ has broken it down: he has rent in twain the vail from the top to the bottom, by which some would hide the mysteries of his cross from these poor outcasts; and I entirely believe that he shed as much blood for the most abject slave in this country, as he did for *me*—for *you*, my son—for your mother—for your sisters—since the same God is rich unto all who call upon him! And I have witnessed, in this spiritual wilderness, the efficacy of the Gospel in the lives and deaths of some of our Negroes. There is your nurse Mahali'——

But here my father came to a pause; and left me to finish the sentence, which I silently did—for we were now both in tears;—and I perfectly understood, that the same poor heathen who had once enslaved my infant mind by the vile stories of superstition, was herself 'delivered from the power of darkness;' and brought into the light of truth—'the truth as it is in Jesus!'

I only describe the event in Scriptural terms; which, I trust, will shelter this part of the narrative from the contempt it might otherwise occasion.

Let it not, however, be supposed that the Black population at the Lagoon all became Christians; no, nor generally such. The missionary's efforts and success were a counterpart to what takes place in the parish of a pious clergyman in England: and especially, if his predecessor was an unfaithful and careless shepherd. In both cases will be accurately verified the parable which describes the kingdom of heaven as being likened to ten virgins, five of whom were wise, and five foolish. In Jamaica, as in England, there were the wheat and the tares.

Indeed, in the lapse of time—and before I finally left the colonies, I witnessed the thirtieth anniversary of the missionaries' arrival—the *Black church* at the Lagoon became an epitome of the church universal. I particularly observed in this communion the innate, and by human means inextinguishable, passion of the heart also of barbarized man for form and ceremony, and its reliance on them as a substitute for personal religion. I remember that we had a domestic slave who surpassed all his fellows in opposing, as much as he durst, the proceedings of the mission. I once allowed this man, who was unusually shrewd and clever in his way, to attend a gentleman of the island in a voyage to the Havannah, as a kind of valet. The man came back overjoyed at the discovery he had there made of a religion exactly suited to his taste. 'We had finer worship,' he said, 'in Cuba—all gold and silver, and candles and sweet smoke—and great thing with gold pipes full of music—

and parson in grand clothes—and he did'nt plague folks in the week-day, but was good-natured, and let them do as they liked; and only said, *Come mass Sunday and holiday; and come confess; and you good Christians then*—but the parson from England says, we must be good every day same as Sunday; mus'nt mind obi; mus'nt get drunk and take pleasure; and have only one wife, and keep to her—and all this hard saying.'—The valet ever afterwards considered himself an accomplished professor of divinity; and, of course, endeavoured to inspire others with the sectarian spirit which fixed his own original ignorance.

We had also symptoms among us of disunion, party feelings, and favouritism; much resembling the cabals and heresies of the primitive church in the apostolic age. Neither did it require any penetration to detect such elements of character as, in Christendom, have since exhibited the supercilious, intolerant ecclesiastic of an established hierarchy, no matter whether episcopal or presbyterian; while there was equally discernible, in embryo, the busy, self-important, exclusive member of a village conventicle. Some also of our nominal converts might have been matured, in European soil, into excellent monks; or into inquisitors—the valet, for example—and possibly into cardinals, popes, and all the splendid rabble of the Vatican.

One result of these morbid symptoms might easily have been anticipated. We were assailed by sneers which, as Paley taught me, it was impossible to confute, whether uttered by Gibbon or a sugar colonist. We were accused of breeding religious discord in a district once at unity with itself; and one of our ac-

cusers said, that the missionary waved not the olive-branch but the sword. A Christian would have seen, with a clearness far, far superior to any distinctness of vision possessed by our opponents, the tares among the wheat; but he would also have said, *an enemy hath done this;* and he would likewise have recollected, that at the season of harvest, the tares would become fuel, and the wheat treasured up in the garner.

'But,' said my father in continuation, 'among the enemy's engineers, I am sorry to enumerate some of the clergy; none of whom took the least notice of the slaves, so long as I did nothing myself; but the moment the missionary was domesticated, I received more than one letter, upbraiding me with irregularity; accusing me of acting in the spirit of Jeroboam, who made priests of the lowest of the people; and describing the doctrine of the poor Wesleyan as being pure fatalism, and hostile to all subordination.'

The fact was, that the clerical office in Jamaica was a sort of dernier resort to men who had not succeeded in other professions, or who thought it a more thriving one than that which they pursued: hence it was not unusual to see a quondam merchant, a military officer, or even an overseer of a plantation, who had the necessary interest, ordained to the ministry. To this confession by Mr. Stewart (152), may be added the information of Mr. Bickell (98—101); who tells us, that 'one of our Jamaica clergy was once owner of a small trading vessel, passing between Kingston and Cuba. On one occasion he went on board himself, made a voyage in her to Cuba, and returned safe and prosperous with an assorted cargo; some part of which,

(I was credibly informed) was exposed for sale in his own parish; not in his name, but for his account. The only punishment he incurred for this disgraceful conduct, was the loss of his salary for the time he was absent, through the vestry of the parish. This thoughtless Creole was only in deacon's orders, though he managed, after some time, to get testimonials signed to enable him to take priest's orders also, and was on his passage home for that purpose; but the vessel in which he embarked never reached England, as it was wrecked; and the poor young man, I am sorry to add, perished, with nearly all the others on board.—Another of these clergymen, a rector of a large parish, was exposed very lately, in one of the island papers, for his indecent observations on some Coloured females at a funeral where he officiated. Another, who had hesitated between an ironmonger's shop and the church, and who had been appointed curate to a large country parish, which was partially disturbed about Christmas last, was (instead of being at his post, where it may be supposed a clergyman might have been of some service) strutting about Kingston and Spanish-Town in large spurs, *à la militaire*, idling away his precious time, and taking his fill of pleasure.'

From clergymen such as these, the reader will readily judge what kind of communications were forwarded to my father.

When his Majesty's Government lately raised Jamaica to the dignity of an Episcopal See, high hopes were entertained of the result; and it was supposed, that a new æra of spiritual prosperity would then begin. With what bitter feelings of mortification did

the friends of the Established Church find, that when the new Bishop had been only three weeks on the island, he sent dispatches home (dated March 12, 1825) containing such paragraphs as these:—'Wherever I go, I find the greatest aversion to Sectarianism of every kind and denomination; but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion whom I may be pleased to appoint. I have as yet seen very little of the slave-population, except during a short excursion into the Port-Royal mountains. The great want is, places of worship in situations where the Negroes of many surrounding estates might be easily assembled, and houses for the clergy. Many proprietors have indeed tendered houses, which might be adapted for the purpose: and, from all I hear from the clergy, much has been done in this way, particularly since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point. From the great uncertainty and capriciousness of the Negro character, it is difficult to make sure of their attendance even where great pains have been taken; but whenever a preacher is popular, they dress out their children and themselves, a sure sign they are in good humour, and throng the place of public worship. Psalmody and organs have great attractions for them. They seem particularly fond of form and ceremony, and greater critics than many persons will give them credit for, remarking every particularity of manner and gesture; and have a great predilection for a powerful, sonorous voice. I am happy to assure your Lordship, that a very general wish to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of the Established Church, seems to pervade the great mass

of proprietors: and every facility is afforded me of visiting the several plantations.'

That his Lordship *did* find the most decided hatred towards teachers unconnected with the Establishment, among the White colonists, I entirely believe; and also, that such enmity will exist and increase, so long as the instructors in question keep aloof from the carousals of their opponents, and refuse to countenance their licentiousness. Let the sectarians, or, let such clergymen as I could name, soothe the anti-sectarians in their sins, by connivance and flattery; and the latter will in a moment shake hands with the men against whom they now feel the greatest aversion. If there needed unequivocal evidence in favour of the missionaries, it might be found in their actual unpopularity.

According, also, to the above account, the great evil has not been any want of zeal in the resident clergy, or any discouragement of them on the part of the laity, but the need of churches and houses; and yet all previous accounts, even from the clergy themselves, have given a different view of the most efficient causes of the non-instruction of the slaves *.

Again: the Bishop was informed by the clergy, that much had been done in the way of assembling the Negroes in the houses of the proprietors. This, also, is in direct contradiction to all the evidence previously obtained on the subject, both from the clergy themselves and from others. But we are told, that it is more especially since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point, that 'much has been done.' The resolutions adopted by

* See, before, the evidence of Mr. Chaderton, &c. &c.

that society were first made known in July or Augu 1823, in London. Its progress must have been rapic if much had already been done by it. But in what wa their resolution to institute schools could have operate in leading the clergy to do much in the way o assembling the Negroes in the houses of proprietors fo public worship, is not very obvious.—It is really hu miliating to read, in these intelligent days, this three weeks' experience of a Christian prelate's first entrance into a diocese*, the very inhabitants of which, up-

* Mr. Bickell supposes an objector to blame his exposure of the Jamaica clergy as unnecessary; bishops having been appointed to remedy all defects. His answer is, that though he rejoices in the appointment of West-Indian bishops, he is sure they will never see what he has seen. Even if they were to visit different parts of the colony, they would not be admitted, as he had been, behind the scenes.—'A veil would be studiously thrown over the most prominent parts of the evils of the system, by every person with whom they might converse, and on every estate they might choose to visit. There would be no floggings, nor even a single stroke of the whip, in a bishop's presence; no indecency to shock his sight, nor any thing said to offend his ears; and if he attended at any church, it would be crowded, by design and order, for that time: every thing, in fact, would be acted so as to deceive, and make a favourable but false impression.' (ix. x.)

'Mr. Wilberforce and others have frequently been invited by the West Indians to pay a visit to the West Indies, and especially to Jamaica, on the idea that the result would prove most strikingly to the advantage of their cause. And this might possibly be the case, if he were to content himself with being led from place to place, in a kind of state, to entertainments; but not if he were to turn an estate's book-keeper, or fill any other situation which would enable him to take a full and fair view of the system in all its parts and bearings. Should the invitation be repeated, it ought to be accompanied with an assurance that the freest access shall be granted to the Negro houses; to the overseer's establishment; to the gangs in the field; to the patients in the hot-house; to the delinquents in the stocks of the estate and in the workhouse; to the watchmen in their huts; and, above all, to the various floggings which take place, whether on the persons of males or females, old or young.

holders of the slave system, own to be in a state of the deepest moral degradation; and are fully conscious, that themselves, as far as they are stained by its pollutions, are, as Bishop Horsley said, no better than infidels in masquerade. If these men continue to honour the mitre, the brow which it presses may one day be crimsoned with blushes.

* * * * * * *

When I became established at the Lagoon, my attention was quickly absorbed in an examination of its condition and resources—a different employment from luxuriating among the classics of Greece, Rome, and England on the banks of the Isis! I thought of 'the Lawyer's Farewell to the Muse,' by Blackstone; and of the *Planter's* valediction to the glory of all lands, when the Liberty steered for Africa.

I proceed to give some general information on the actual condition of slaves. But when I contemplate the mass of authentic documents now loading the table of an abolitionist—and from this I wish to draw evidence, generally to the exclusion of any assertions of my own—I am constrained to say, '*Inopem me copia fecit!*' The difficulty is in the art of selecting and condensing materials; while, in an anxiety to avoid wearisome detail, I am afraid of furnishing insufficient testimony.

What is the *food* of the slaves? One, and only one,

With a view to the thorough examination of the system in all these respects, it might not be unwise for Mr. W., or some of his friends, to take a voyage. But let no one, who has taken an active part in favour of the slaves, venture from home without an understanding of this sort, and, I had almost said, without a guarantee for personal safety.' (Cooper, 39, 40.)

answer out of many, shall be given to this inquiry.—'I aver it boldly, melancholy experience having given me occasion to make the remark, that a great number of Negroes have perished annually by diseases produced by inanition. To be convinced of this truth, let us trace the effect of that system which assigned for a Negro's weekly allowance six or seven pints of flour or grain, with as many salt herrings; and it is in vain to conceal, what we all know to be true, that in many of the islands they did not give more. With so scanty a pittance it is indeed possible for the soul and body to be held together a considerable portion of time, provided a man's only business be to live, and his spirits be husbanded with a frugal hand: but if motion short of labour, much more labour itself, and that too intense, be exacted from him, how is his body to support itself?'—'Their attempts to weild the hoe prove abortive; they shrink from their toil; and, being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them into the hospital, whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to the grave *.'

But let the inquirer pass on, in his terrible progress, to what, in point of physical suffering, is the most accursed part of the colonial system; and admits of no explanation or defence, but such as would justify crimes of the deepest malignity,—namely, compulsory labour under the cart-whip. The drivers † are selected

* 'Practical Rules for the Management and Treatment of Negro Slaves,' 1804. 4.—The author, Dr. Collins, who calls himself a Professional Planter, and published his work anonymously, was well acquainted with the entire economy of West-India agriculture. He was also a decided apologist of Slavery, and the Slave Trade.

† Stephen's 'Delineation, &c.' 1824. i. 49 & seq.

from among the most intelligent and the most athletic of the slaves belonging to the estate; and present, in their plump and robust appearance a striking contrast to the generality of the poor labourers whom they drive. A long, thick, and strongly platted whip, with a short handle, is coiled and slung like a sash over their shoulders, except when extended in the hand for use, as the ensign of their fearful office; and being long trained to the expert use of it, they well know how to direct, and how to aggravate or mitigate its inflictions. They have an emulation in the loudness of the report which they produce from this instrument of torture, the sound of which is enough to make the stoutest of its male patients tremble; and the smack of the cart-whip *—in Jamaica it is called the *cattle-whip*, being the same that is used to drive oxen in carting—frequently repeated from a distant cane-piece, serves often, instead of a bell or conch-shell, to summon the Negroes from their huts, at the earliest dawn, to the theatre of their labours †. The drivers, however, can when they please, in actual punishment, produce a loud report without proportionate severity of stripes; and, on the other hand, when told to *cut*, as the phrase is, they can easily inflict a gash at every stroke, so as

* 'This instrument, in the hands of a skilful driver, cuts out flakes of skin and flesh at every stroke; and the wretch, in this mangled condition, is turned out to work in dry or wet weather; which last, now and then, brings on the cramp, and ends his slavery and sufferings together.' (Ramsay, 75.)

† 'The *mules* dread the *thunders* of the whip. . . . . This instrument, whether in the hands of the cartman, mule-boy, or Negro driver, is heard to resound among the hills, and upon the plains, and to awaken the echoes, &c.'—Beckford's Jamaica, ii. 51. This author also was a decided friend of slavery.

to make even a few lashes a tremendous punishment. A planter, who valued himself on his humanity, once pointed out to me a driver of his, then passing by, as a man whose strength of arm and adroitness in the use of his whip were more than commonly great, and who had also a cruel disposition. I once actually saw the fellow, said he, lay open the flank of a mule, cutting fairly through its tough hide at a single stroke.—*Cutting* does not mean merely drawing blood and peeling off the scarf skin, for those are effects of almost every stripe on the naked body with this instrument, however leniently applied; but it means cutting through the *cutis*, or true skin, into the muscle or flesh below; and this is so usual in cart-whippings, when regularly inflicted for a serious fault, that confinement to the hospital during the cure is an ordinary consequence, and large scars or weals remain during the life of the patient*.

We hear with horror of the Russian punishment of the knout, which is applied only to capital convicts; but by the description travellers have given of it, there seems to be no other difference between the knout and the cart or cattle-whip, than their application to different parts of the frame. The long whip of the Russian

* 'As to that tremendous application of the whip, which confines the delinquent to the sick-house for five or six weeks, it is a severity not more repugnant to humanity than to sound policy; there being a certain loss of the Negro's service for so long a time; besides the injury his constitution may sustain by long confinement in an uncomfortable position, with his body naked &c.'—Collins, 209. See also 201, 2; where it is confessed, that frequent use of this dire instrument induces callosity of the parts; and that the *weakest* Negroes of the gang are often most cruelly punished!

executioner cuts the victim from the nape of the neck to the loins, his back being laid bare for the purpose; and by its deep incisions, though few in number, often produces death; but the Negro, to avoid that consequence, is lacerated by a like instrument, only on a part of the frame from the fleshy texture of which the incisions, however torturous, are not likely to be fatal. They nevertheless sometimes prove so. In a pretty recent case, brought to the knowledge of Parliament, a poor field Negro was literally whipped to death, by the immediate order and in the presence of his master.

'When employed in the labour of the field—as, for example, in holing a cane-piece—the slaves are drawn out in a line, each with a hoe in his or her hand; and in the rear is a driver. Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues for a certain number of hours; during which, at the peril of the drivers, an adequate portion of land must be holed. As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advance together, it is necessary that every hole or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and if any one Negro were allowed to hoe with less rapidity than his companions in other parts of the line, it is obvious that the work of the latter must be suspended. It is therefore the business of the driver, not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work, as nearly as possible, in equal time and with equal effect. No breathing time, no pause of languor, to be repaid by brisker exertion afterwards, can be

allowed to individuals. All must work or pause together*.'

It is one of the expressions in Milton, that *hell grew darker at the frown of Satan*. I feel the power of these words, in contemplating the gloom which lowers over the whole of our western islands; and seems to thicken as we enter into fresh details of slavery. To the reader who would venture farther into the deepening darkness, might be presented, from the records of Parliament, and the deposition both of colonial and anti-colonial witnesses, details unspeakably terrific; but such as cannot be transferred to the present publication. Reference may be made to Ramsay, Edwards, Pinckard, and Stedman. In the volume published by the last-mentioned writer, detailing the 'Expedition against the Revolted Negroes in Surinam,' is an engraving†, revealing an example of cruelty yet

* See Appendix XII.

† The abolitionists have been accused of exciting false feelings on behalf of their clients, by prints exhibiting the cruelties practised on Negroes. Yet, of the few engravings in Edwards, one represents a Negro festival; and another, the 'Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies,' illustrated by an ode; both the engraving and the poem being sufficiently consistent with the voluptuous manners of the colonies. But why did not this author balance the account by a representation of the *auto da fé* performed at Jamaica, in the case—so graphically described by himself—of the Black martyr who was burnt alive for the insurrection (against what lawful authority?) at Ballard's Valley? Why did he not add a print, exhibiting 'The Voyage, in a Slave Ship, of a Negress, from the Windward Coast to Port Royal;' torn away from a husband and children in Africa, and destined to toil to her grave under the lash of a male driver? ——But the accusation against the abolitionists would prove too much; as, at this rate, *no* appeals to the imagination must be made by means of the graphic art. Therefore, all the pictures in Fox's Martyrology, in histories of the Inquisition, and even

more fearful than was exhibited on the parade at Kingston, when two Negroes were hung up alive in chains; one of them surviving seven, and the other nine, days! (Edwards, ii. 66.)

But the design in such references is, not to furnish prurient curiosity with an admission ticket into the secret chambers of colonial torture; but to impel men of serious minds to inquire, what must be the *system* which has thus drawn blood from the veins and arteries of its victims, drop by drop, and, as it were, dissected the living subject; while—as on the parade at Kingston—the executioner, the public authorities, and the populace, have assembled to watch the last quiverings and convulsions of nature!—There are those, perhaps, who will justify, in this connection, the remembrance of what is written on a more awful event,—many 'that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts and returned!'

But fresh evidence of the abject condition of our colonial bondsmen is at hand. What is their state with regard to marriage? Even the demonology of Africa, and the foul polytheism of Asia, recognise that connubial bond, which, in Christian colonies, is disowned and violated. At this hour the marriage of slaves is protected by no legal sanction! So lately as the 4th of March 1826, the Duke of Manchester writes to Earl Bathurst, that he is 'not aware of any law by

the deaths of General Wolfe, Major Pierson, and Lord Chatham, and the parting of Louis XVI. from his queen and children—and this too was the SEPARATION OF A FAMILY!—must be removed from our libraries and port-folios.

which the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights recognised and secured; and by which the separation of husband and wife, or of parents and children, by sale or otherwise, is rendered unlawful.'—A return had been called for of the marriages of slaves, from the 1st of January 1821 to the end of 1825; a space of five years. In that period the number of marriages in Jamaica was as follows:—

Manchester	Slave population, 18000	Marriages, 191
Port Royal	7000	24
St. Dorothy's	5000	4
Hanover	23000	4
St. Thomas in the Vale	12000	16
St. Andrew's	16000	no return.
Trelawney	27000	5
Vere	8000	1
Clarendon	18000	2
St. Mary's	26000	141
St. John's	7000	3
St. George's	13000	104
St. David's	8000	101
Westmoreland	22000	2
St. Elizabeth's	19000	2
St. James's	25000	89
St. Thomas in the East	25000	1085
St. Ann's	25000	5
St. Catherine's	8000	56
Portland	8000	57
Kingston	7000	601

Marriage prevails chiefly where the Methodist preachers have obtained a footing. In Kingston, and St. Thomas in the East, Methodist missions have been established for many years, and there marriages are frequent. In St. Mary's, St. George's, St. David's, St.

James's, St. Catherine's, and Portland, where the Methodist missionaries have recently made inroads, marriages are becoming less infrequent. In eleven other parishes, containing 173,000 slaves, there were only sixty-eight marriages in five years, or about thirteen in each year. And here it appears of the utmost importance to remark, that in the various parishes of this island, which are pre-eminently distinguished by the paucity of marriages—as Vere, in which only ONE marriage has taken place in *five* years; Clarendon, where two marriages have taken place in five years; St. John's, where, in five years, three marriages have been solemnized, and only one marriage had ever taken place before; Westmoreland, where only two marriages have taken place in five years; St. Dorothy's, where only four marriages have taken place in five years; Hanover, where the same number of marriages has been solemnized; Trelawney, where there have been only five marriages; St. Elizabeth's, where only two marriages have occurred; and St. Ann's, where there have been only five marriages in five years;—it is most important to remark, that in these various parishes, not a few of the most influential West-India proprietors, filling seats in both Houses of Parliament, who profess their cordial attachment to measures of reform, and prefer strong claims to the public confidence and respect, possess large plantations, crowded with slaves!

The case of the parish of Manchester requires to be particularized. Previous to 1821, the marriages had amounted to *five*. In 1821, Mr. Bridges solemnized three; in 1822, none; and in February 1823, one.

Suddenly we have a list of 140 marriages, or 187—for the numbers differ—for the year 1829; and, for aught that appears to the contrary, on the same day—for no date, except that of the year, is affixed; though in every other case the day and month are given. The suppression of the date is very observable. But for this, it might have been discovered that this extraordinary increase of marriages took place between the arrival in Jamaica of Mr. Wilberforce's 'Appeal,' and the publication of Mr. Bridges' 'Reply;' and the inference might have been, that these marriages were solemnized to furnish Mr. Bridges with the means of contradicting the position of Mr. Wilberforce, that marriage was almost unknown among the slaves of Jamaica. The fact speaks for itself. But mark what followed Mr. Bridges' translation to the parish of St. Ann's, in 1823. He gives the return in his new parish thus:—In 1821, 1822, and 1823, *no* marriage; in 1824, two; in 1825, one. Three marriages in five years! The slave population of St. Ann's is 25,000.

The reader shall now have a little relief from these details of misery, guilt, and systematic oppression, by returning to my own personal narrative; of which I have almost lost sight. Indeed, when once we begin to wander in the spiritual deserts of slavery, it is difficult to find our way home. They are 'wilds immeasurably spread,' and 'seem lengthening as we go;' and they are 'a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death!'

* * * * * * * *

I had commissioned Cæsar to bring out with him, from England, a large assortment of such things as he

judged would be most acceptable to his compatriots at the Lagoon; and our correspondent at Liverpool made the necessary arrangements. The articles selected were knives, sundry pairs of scissors, small looking-glasses, ribbons, handkerchiefs, shewy cottons, and plenty of puerile trifles;—for I observed, that Cæsar had made a collection for our adults, such as might properly have been brought from a country fair for children; so that here was practical evidence of the point in intellectual advancement which, in his view, they had reached. A day was fixed for the opening of these treasures; and a grand entertainment given, on the occasion, to the whole of our Black establishment. Could I have entirely forgotten that the slaves were exiles for life from the land of their fathers; that they were all, more or less, scarred by the fetters of the middle passage, by the brand of their owner, and by the whips of drivers; I should have enjoyed, without a pang, the humours of this day; and might have said, in the language of an English newspaper, that it was spent with the utmost harmony and conviviality to a late hour. In reality, every thing was harmonious, except the abuse of the festival by some of our Black revellers; and also the discordancy of my own spirit. But let this pass!

Our people, in their best apparel, were collected around several deal cases, containing the toys designed to make bondsmen happy. Most of them laughed and danced about, like children of a smaller growth. Mahali looked on with many a pleasant smile. Religion had soberized and elevated her mind; and she

* See Appendix XIII.

was no longer a girl of twice my age. Daniel was still a giddy boy, and came to the shew with another boy upon his arm—his own son—and both father and child seemed equally to enjoy the sight of boxes splendid with baubles. If I remember right, there were whistles, trumpets, and other indications of the taste, genius, and resources of the mother country. Daniel stood as near as he could venture; ready to peep into each case as soon as the lid should be raised. At length I allowed him to assist me; and he gave the child to a Negress. The little Daniel, however, finding himself in the arms of a stranger, struggled and cried so vehemently, that his mother pressed forward to take him, but was prevented by her husband. 'You go—go away,' said Daniel: 'me take piccaninny—I quiet him,' pressing him to his breast—'you go sleep, child;' and then the father began humming a tune; modulating, by degrees, his voice, with a delicacy not unusual among Africans; and melting, at length, into the very strain which Cæsar had played on the tombstone under my window at Ravenswood. Imagine the sudden astonishment of Cæsar and myself!

In an instant Cæsar said, 'Who taught you that tune, young man?'—'Who taught me?' said Daniel, continuing to rock the child in his arms, and resuming the air; 'who taught me?—why you ask?'—Cæsar became urgent and impatient. 'Who taught me?' said Daniel; 'who should teach me?'—and immediately proceeded with the air; with the addition of words in an African language, which I could not understand. 'You know, then, those words—that song?' said Cæsar, in violent agitation;—'what country do you

came from?—who are you?—speak, young man; speak, I beg you!'——'Hush, Cæsar, hush,' whispered Daniel: 'you wake piccaninny—he sleep now—but I will tell—I came from my own town, called' (I could not catch the word)—'and brought away very young—it was a sweet country—sorry to leave it.'—'But,' asked Cæsar,—'were you not sorry to leave your father—mother?'—'Oh, my father leave me in the bushes long ago—my mother dead'—Cæsar became more agitated: and during this dialogue, all the party forgot the boxes; thronging round the two speakers in silent surprise. By this time also Cæsar and Daniel had gradually addressed each other in their native language; the interest of the scene, notwithstanding this, becoming more intense even to myself,—the surrounding Africans, who understood them, looking with inexpressible changes of countenance—and, finally, there was such a shout, and such an embrace, as no words of mine can describe. Cæsar recognised his Quashee!

Both afterwards fell at my feet; and the father at length was able to sob out, 'This my son was—was—was—dead, and—is—alive again; and was—lost—and is found!'——They that drew nigh to the house that day might have heard music and dancing; and no one *there* was jealous of the entertainment given to our Negro party.

The trinkets were all distributed; and while Cæsar, Mahali, and all our really Christian Negroes enjoyed the pleasures of the day with the moderation and caution consistent with their profession, the night closed in upon many who abused the liberty allowed them; and—exactly like many of the villagers at Ravenswood

wake—never knew what pleasure was, unless it degenerated into folly and vice. This threw a blank over my share in the festivities. Neither could I refrain from repeating to myself, as I idly gazed upon the groupes of dancers—but, in justice to my father, thinking, I confess, of *other* estates than the Lagoon, and of Negroes not belonging to *him*—

> So fare they in this prison-house—
> And 'tis a fearful spectacle to see
> So many maniacs dancing in their chains.
> They gaze upon the links, that hold them fast,
> With eyes of anguish; execrate their lot;
> Then shake them in despair, and dance again!—

Cowper indeed did not write this about colonial slaves; but the lines are exceedingly apposite. I thought also of another poet's description of a land sunk into the deepest spiritual bondage, and where he leads his hero—

> To isles of fragrance, lily-silvered vales,
> Diffusing languor on the panting gales;
> The land of *singing and of dancing slaves*;—

for, in both examples, in the West Indies and in Italy, the region itself is exuberant in beauty, but the inhabitants traverse it in chains.

As to the occasional Saturnalia of the Negroes, Mr. Stewart justly says (271), 'Pleasure throws a temporary oblivion over their cares and their toils; they seem a people without the consciousness of inferiority or suffering.' And so will it always be, in proportion as man becomes degraded into a mere animal; unmindful of the past, and reckless of the future. If the reader ever visited Exeter 'Change at *feeding time*, he

has seen a Negro festival; for *there* also the prisoners, for a moment, forget their captivity.

Since my return to England I had occasion to visit a poor debtor in a county jail; and, to my surprise, found him and his fellows in the midst of a carousal. It was the season of Christmas; when a neighbouring gentleman had given them his annual bounty—not in warm clothing, which would have done them *lasting* good during inclement weather—but in the false charities of a plentiful and even luxurious dinner. The majority were singing 'Begone, dull care,' and something about seeing it struggling in the bowl; and an observer, of their own class, would have pronounced them happy. But I marked a few of the company who sat at the table, moderately partaking of the feast, but disclosing in their looks an inward bitterness of soul, rendered more bitter by the conduct of the bacchanalians around them. Their thoughts, in fact, were occupied, not by the treacherous gaiety of the scene, but by the remembrance that themselves were still debtors; with wives and families in a state of indigence.

I visited the prison the next morning, and found—as the certain consequence of yesterday's revelry—the drunkards of the past day sunk into a lower depth of discontent, and weariness of their confinement; while the *thinkers* remained indeed prisoners still, but they had not fastened a new link to their chains by untimely indulgence; and so far they were happier than when at the feast. The rest were animals; and said, like their predecessors in the ancient world, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'

* * * * * * * * *

The reformation of mankind, under the most favourable circumstances, is a work of the greatest difficulty. Even in the British islands, where—we must except Ireland—there is a general diffusion of religious light; and where we recognise the land of Bibles, Sunday schools, national education, and of religious liberty; all attempts to Christianise man, in the genuine sense of the word, are met by the inherent prejudices and passions of human nature. Still, very intelligible appeals may be made to such as have been baptized, and call themselves Christians, by referring to the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and public worship; and no persons, whose efforts have been directed to such a point, but must have observed a consciousness, even among some of the most ignorant and hardened, that the appeal was just. In fact, there is some common ground to stand upon; some general principles are acknowledged; and an avenue, of whatever breadth, is opened to the conscience. But with regard to our fellow-immortals in the Western islands, there is a palpable and unavoidable ignorance of the very elements of moral truth; as well as of that external decorum of manners which exists among many European Christians—I mean among such as, notwithstanding this, deride the essentials of their own religion. Besides; all that the Negroes know of Christianity, either in Africa or in Jamaica, is a Christianity in strict union with oppression, avarice, cruelty, and the unrestrained indulgence of appetite. The Negroes are quite shrewd enough to see this.

I remember an illustration of it in a conversation I held at Kingston, the second Sunday after my landing,

with a domestic slave, who usually attended church with his master's family;—a family remarkable for their observance of the Sabbath, when contrasted with most others. He said to me, 'Why, sir, buckra man's religion goes quite against himself; and he can't teach it us, else we should be all free! I hear minister say every Sunday morning to his God,—*Pray have mercy upon all men**—*all sick persons, and young children—defend and provide for fatherless children, and widows—all that are desolate and oppressed*—and then, what makes me cry sometimes, *shew thy pity upon all prisoners and captives.* And when minister says these prayers, all the people join on to him, and say, *We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.* Now, sir, if all who go to church would do as their prayers tell them! —but you know what I mean.—I think, too, those prayers must have been made for a different country, and not for our masters here. Indeed, if people are to pray for what they wish and want, I think, that a new set should be made for Kingston church—like this: they should pray for power to keep poor slaves still under the whip; and as blind and ignorant as when they came from Africa. I also have my thoughts, when White men say, *From fornication and all other deadly sin, and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil, Good Lord deliver us.* But what much surprise me is, minister saying, *Remember keep holy Sabbath—six days shalt thou*

* 'How can the Christian, who prays for the improvement of all mankind, block up the inlets to the spiritual regeneration of the coloured men around his house?' Coleridge, 321. *O si sic omnia!*

labour—but on Sunday must do no work—no, not thy man-servant nor maid-servant, nor cattle—and then say the people, *Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.*—Now, massa, what this mean? Do the servants in England work in gardens, and go market all Sunday?—I do think again that the church-book was not made for Jamaica.—I listen also when I hear, *Honour thy father and thy mother.* Why, sir—though I may tell perhaps a secret to *you*—I know many children of Black women, whose fathers are attorneys, overseers, and masters; and these children many times work like the rest, and their fathers treat them as bad, and don't seem to know that they are their children—how can the young ones manage to honour their parents?——But many, many thoughts come into me at church. And once I heard some piccaninnies asked questions by the minister; and one said, *My duty is to hurt nobody, by word or deed: to be true and just in all my dealings: to keep my hands from picking and stealing; my tongue from bad words; my body chaste and temperate;* and a great deal more. Now I know that all this is called buckra man's religion; and I am always puzzled how it really can be—I say, their own books are quite against them. And when missionary said to a gentleman one day, that though some skins were black and some white, yet souls were all of one colour; the gentleman told him to go about his business, and cursed him for a vagabond and a fool; and said, he would soon do for him and his new religion; and then went and complained to the Custos.——Ah, massa! I could say many more things.——One Sunday minister read,

Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that your Master also is in heaven, and there is no respect of persons with him—God hath made of one blood all nations—Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden—Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely—There is neither bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all. It says, sir, *all*—and *whosoever*—and much like this. I one day made bold to say as much to somebody, whom I sha'nt name; and he was angry, and said, that I had no right to remember such things, and to pick out what suited my own purpose: that the buckra book was only fit to be heard by such as me in parts. "You scoundrel," he said, "the church-book says that *your* duty is to submit yourself to all in authority; to order yourself lowly and reverently to all your betters—and also to be obedient to your masters with fear and trembling—and yet, you blackguard, you would fling in your master's face words which such a fool as you can never understand. I will get your master never to let you go to church again—mind my words. This comes of cockering and spoiling a Negro"—and so he left me in a rage!—However, sir, truth is truth; and all my wonder still is, that the same book should have two meanings; or that plain words cannot be understood by plain people—even by a slave!—for, in other things, we who live in master's house, are taught to use our own senses and thoughts; and I have known master sometimes even ask my advice, and he has also taken it. But I say no more—the English religion seems to build up and pull down; to say and unsay; to be easy for one man, and

hard for another; and all at the same time—so I cannot make it out!'

A few days after, as I was watching a gang of Negroes holing a cane-piece, I met the very gentleman who had held this colloquy with the Negro; and he abruptly introduced the subject by exclaiming, 'Well, sir, here is a pretty business with old Cato! the fellow is ripe for rebellion—and where do you think he has been learning all his treason? Why—at church! I thought what would be the consequence of his booby master letting him have so much liberty—and I am convinced, that, as surely as we stand here, the moment we enlighten—I hate the canting word!—enlighten these villains, there is an end of all our profits in the colonies. Down with such hypocrisy! We shall soon have the Blacks preaching to us—nay, Cato has already begun; and I know also that we have some of our own colour in the same conspiracy; who will have it, that the slaves shall be taught to read—and would abolish Sunday markets; and, in fact, put a stop to all *our pleasures*. But while I have the power of expostulation, I will'——Here he was interrupted by the screams of a female shrinking under the scourge of the driver; whom he encouraged, by crying out, 'Aye, aye, lay it on—lay it on—she'll mind next time—nothing like a keen argument—Thisbe wants a gentle stimulus——' and so on, with similar vulgarity; while I slipped away, ashamed of myself for listening to such an unmanly profligate without making one effort to silence him. Perhaps I smoothed down a ruffled conscience by thinking I should only have been

casting pearls before swine,—an excuse frequently made by a spiritual coward, when he is afraid of man. It was, I think, Father Paul, or Erasmus, who said to an English Protestant, *Deus non dedit mihi spiritum Lutheri*—which was more than any thoughtful man can certainly say of himself!

I was speaking above of the cruel mockery of Negro marriages! They are promissory notes, and conveyances, on unstamped paper; and therefore, in law, go for nothing. They make the marriage-service in the Prayer-Book binding upon the Whites, and nugatory to the slaves. Now the impossibility of christianizing the latter, in such a state of things, must be obvious. Their demoralization will always continue, if the lessons of their instructors are thus counteracted *at home*. My old tutor at Ravenswood frequently used to say, that the Gospel was a week-day religion, and influenced a man quite as much from Monday to Saturday, as it did on Sunday. He called it *the religion of private life;* and was obliged frequently to repeat this to such of his parishioners as pleaded, in proof of their good principles, their attendance at church. 'This is very well,' said he, 'and your bounden duty, and your privilege; but what are you when *at home*, with your wife and family? and what in the field, alone or in company? and what are you in your inward mind?—for as you think, so you are!'—This is exactly suited to the meridian of the sugar islands. The missionary who left his companion at the Lagoon, and was allowed to settle near another estate, told me—what there was no occasion to tell—that all his efforts were crushed by mock marriages, or by the planters' forbidding to marry;

and then by the Sunday markets and Sunday labour. 'Render the Sabbath,' says Bryan Edwards, 'what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious improvement; to which end the markets on Sunday ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a Christian country*.'

But let it be always borne in mind, that the entire CIVIL system also of the colonies is in direct opposition to all spiritual improvement. In this connection observe the malignity of that cruel regulation which refuses to admit Negro evidence. The man, even in courts of justice, is debased, disheartened, and trodden under foot, by those who are to teach him Christianity! 'If a slave,' says Mr. Stewart (225), 'is punished or beat with improper and illegal severity—not to mention the numerous acts of tyranny to which he is subject under a cruel master—and there is no legal evidence to prove these enormities, the offender cannot be convicted. He may then go on with impunity in this system of oppression, as long as he can contrive to keep within the reach of the law. Even murder may escape condign punishment while this defect in the slave laws is suffered to exist. There is only one way of removing this obstacle' to justice; 'and that is, byrendering the slaves' evidence, under certain modifications, legally admissible against the Whites. Such an innovation would, indeed, probably raise an outcry among a certain class of persons, who see danger in every boon of kindness extended to the slaves; but a day will arrive when it will be a subject of wonder, even in the West Indies, that human beings should have been precluded

* See Appendix XIV.

the means of procuring legal redress against injury and oppression—that the 'shadow and mockery of justice should have been held out to them, while an insuperable bar was placed between them and the reality*.'

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I occasionally gained relief from the monotonous life I led at the Lagoon, by visiting other parts of the island. To one who is fond of botany, and has also a taste for the sublime and beautiful of nature, Jamaica presents inexhaustible sources of admiration and enjoyment. In my rambles, even in my own vicinity, I often thought of the contrast, mentioned in an earlier part of this

* 'What planter is there who does not possess one, two, three, a dozen slaves, whose words he would as readily credit as those of scores of persons who are legal witnesses in Great Britain?' Coleridge, 313.—In 1821 a White man shot a slave, employed, among other Blacks, in making a levy upon the murderer's slaves. The evidence of the Blacks was, of course, nugatory; and the culprit would have been acquitted for want of evidence, had it not been for the testimony of *two of his own witnesses* (his housekeeper and his daughter), who, in their cross-examination, proved his guilt. The jury recommended him to mercy; but he was condemned and executed. Stewart, 143.—'Among other instance s of disregard of the laws, the following remarkable one occurred a few years ago. An overseer, well known as a man of violent and tyrannical temper, was employed by a great attorney on an estate for which he was receiver. His treatment of the slaves was so cruel and oppressive, that, after reiterated and fruitless complaints, numbers of them absconded from the property, and would not return to it, doubtless from a dread of the punishment that awaited them. At length a party of these fugitive slaves formed the desperate and atrocious design of murdering this man; which purpose they effected, and subsequently suffered death for their crime. *This man had been suffered to hold his situation for many years prior to this catastrophe, notwithstanding that his cruelties were notorious to the whole neighbourhood.* The assassins neither robbed the house, nor molested the wife and child of their victim, though both were in their power. It is but fair to add, that this case was an unusual one.' Stewart, 229.

narrative, between the splendour of the scenery, and the misery of the exiles who here witnessed what, at least, rivalled the magnificence of their own country—for, in both regions, 'He made all nature beauty to the eye!' But how shall I paint what I saw among the Blue Mountains, and from their towering summits! I shall again draw upon the resources furnished by the eloquence of Mr. Bryan Edwards, who writes:—'Neither curiosity nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmost of those lofty regions. In such of them as are accessible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the insects are seen also to differ from those which are met with below. To an unaccustomed spectator looking down from those heights, the whole scene appears like enchantment. The first object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vast expanse of vapour covering the whole face of the valleys. Its boundaries being perfectly distinct, and visibly circumscribed, it has the exact appearance of an immense body of water, while the mountains appear like so many islands in the midst of a beautiful lake. As the sun increases in force, the prospect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; disclosing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of industry*, heightened and embellished by the full blaze of a tropical sun. In the equatorial season, scenes of still greater magnificence frequently present themselves; for, while all is calm and serene in the higher regions, the clouds are seen

* See Appendix XV.

below sweeping along the sides of the mountains in vast bodies; till, growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The sound of the tempest is distinctly heard by the spectator above; the distant lightning is seen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thousand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.'

And in these Hesperian regions Nature has been equally lavish of her charms in the productions of the soil. 'Of these, some, as the papaw and palmeto-royal, are the most graceful of all the vegetable creation: others continue to bud, blossom, and bear fruit throughout the year. The foliage of the most part springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-spreading branches, closely, but elegantly arranged, every grove is an assemblage of majestic columns, supporting a verdant canopy, and excluding the sun, without impeding the circulation of air.'—'Birds, distinguished by their splendour and beauty, animate these sylvan recesses. Among these is the colibry, or humming-bird; of the brilliance of whose plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The consummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blended, and enveloped beneath a transparent veil of waving gold, are distinguishable in every species, but differently arranged and apportioned in each*.'

Among the fruits of the island, yielded in inexhaustible abundance, I shall only mention the pine-

* Edwards, i. 20. 15. 19.

apple, the orange, the cashew-apple, the granedilla, the sapadillo, the musk and water melon, the citron, the mango, the pomegranate, the reesberry, the star-apple, and the bread-fruit; besides a great variety of nutritious roots, both indigenous and exotic. It should also be mentioned, that we have innumerable wild flowers in the depths of our woods, and among our mountain solitudes, of the richest dyes and most fragrant odours. The blossom of the grinadilla may be particularised as surpassingly splendid in the beauty and brightness of its tints. This plant is sometimes formed into arbours, entwined with the Arabian jessamine, the blossom of which resembles the double narcissus.

It is also most remarkable, that, as an exception to other regions of the torrid zone, the isles of the west —though this singularity was once supposed to be confined to Barbadoes—are not infested by poisonous serpents, lurking under all this luxuriant loveliness. We have the yellow, black, and brown snakes; but each species is harmless. Even our alligators are perfectly innocuous, and fly at the approach of man.—I remember, in one of my rambles, taking with me Daniel; who expressed, to my surprise, great solicitude to find a yellow snake, in order, as he said, to cure his bone-ache; a disease which had made him, in some degree, its victim. We found the reptile, and a fine specimen it was; measuring upwards of nine feet. The creature lay coiled up, reposing itself after the exertion of eating one of its plentiful and periodical meals. In a moment I saw Daniel actually standing upon it; when the animal, feeling the pressure, soon

began to unfold, itself, and, after having quietly dislodged my companion, as quietly recomposed itself to rest*. How difficult is it to dispossess the human mind of a reliance on the efficacy of charms! Daniel, though by this time tolerably well instructed in Christianity—I do not say that the instruction had reached his heart—returned home with a full conviction that his bone-ache would soon be cured. But he was disappointed; like many at home, who have been mocked by magnetism, metallic tractors, and other forms of quackery, quite as absurd as the superstitions they deride among the pagans of Africa†.

On returning from my earliest excursion to the Blue Mountains, I fell in, for the first time, with a *jobbing gang*—one of the colonial practices, which makes the miserable more miserable. The Negroes forming the party in question looked more worn down and wretched than the field Negroes stationed on estates. The latter are better fed and clothed; they have seldom any very

* Of Daehne, a Moravian missionary, who visited Surinam in 1757, the following anecdote is related:—Being one evening attacked by fever, he retired to his hut; on entering which he saw a serpent descending from the roof upon him. In the scuffle which ensued, the creature bit him in two or three different places; and also twined itself round his head and neck as tightly as possible. Expecting to be strangled to death, and being afraid lest the Indians should be suspected of murdering him, he, with singular presence of mind, wrote with chalk on the table, 'a serpent has killed me.' Suddenly, however, he recollected his Redeemer's promise, 'They shall take up serpents, and shall not be hurt:' he was encouraged by the declaration, tore the creature from him, and flung it out of the hut.—Brown's 'History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation.' 2 vols. 1823. i. 534.

† In the spring of 1827 was advertised in the London papers —'To be sold, a child's caul. The lowest price is twenty guineas. Inquire at No. 1, Holles Street, Cavendish Square.'

great distance to go to their work, unless, indeed, on their own days, when the duties of their provision-grounds demand their attention. The cane field, which is always as near home as possible, is the great scene of their labours. Their work is comparatively regular; they can generally tell, with tolerable exactness, what will be their employment for weeks to come; and their gangs are pretty sure to be composed of the same individuals *. The more laborious work of the estate is sometimes done for them; and they have a better chance than jobbers, of getting home to their huts when the day's toil is over. They are, with some exceptions, better off for provision-grounds, and more sure of time to cultivate them.

The sight of the jobbing gang reminded me of what is called in the West Indies the *pushing system*—that is, extracting from the soil as much as possible by an over-working of the slaves. A gentleman of Antigua told the late Mr. Newton †, that calculations had been made, with all possible exactness, to determine which was the most economical method of managing slaves; —whether to appoint them moderate work, plenty of provision, and such treatment as might enable them to protract their lives to old age: or, by rigorously straining their strength to the utmost, with little relaxation, hard fare, and hard usage, to wear them out before they become useless; and then, to buy new ones, to fill up their places. He said, that these calculators had determined in favour of the latter mode, as much cheaper; and that he could mention several

* Appendix XVI. † Works, vi. 546.

estates in Antigua, on which it was seldom known that a slave had lived above nine years!

* * * * * * * * *

As the years of my residence at the Lagoon passed away, I had the satisfaction of witnessing the evident progress of improvement among our slaves. But let no sanguine Abolitionist suppose that my success was complete. No: far, far from it! Much was certainly done; and more might have been effected, had all the machinery of our system worked well: But it is impossible to describe the mortification I not unfrequently endured, by observing the undisguised efforts of certain persons to retard every scheme of spiritual good, by their objections, refusal to co-operate, and, what was worse, by their actual counter-working. Had I confined my plans of improvement merely to the estate, and animal comfort of the Negroes, little opposition would comparatively have been made; for even the head-driver was surprised into the confession that his old and young masters' kind ways and good words —for so he called them—got almost as much work out of the Blacks as his cart-whip. This, however, was an extorted compliment, and, as will afterwards appear, not quite justified by fact.

To explain this, I am compelled to detail a part of my family's history, over which I should otherwise gladly have drawn a veil. The circumstances were, however, such as could not be concealed from the public gaze of the colony.—When my father's will was opened, it was found that he had left the whole, both of his personal and real property, share and share alike, to his three children. At his death my two sisters,

then in the vernal bloom of their years, went for some time to Kingston, on a visit to our relations; and at Kingston, as all over the wide world, were to be found persons of the other sex, who were aware of the arrival, in their circle, of two reputed heiresses. Had they accurately known the state of my father's affairs, their ardour in pursuit of his daughters would have been speedily cooled. As it was, I had the anguish of witnessing the success of two heartless adventurers in uniting themselves for life to poor Sophia and Elizabeth; and with such wicked speed did these men accomplish their project, that almost my first knowledge of the affair was conveyed to me in a demand to admit the intruders to their legal share of the family's spoils. My sisters had been married without settlements.

Thus was I in a moment entangled with strangers, who had a majority of votes in our domestic council; and they lost no time in making me feel that their excess of power would embarrass all my plans. One thing, it is true, was considerably in my favour,—they were idlers, hanging loose upon society; and were soon compelled to leave me, as the active partner, to do much as I had done before (with the exception already mentioned); while they lounged away life in the billiard-rooms and taverns at Kingston.

On the sufferings of those who had been betrayed into unhappy marriages I shall be silent. The victims are in the grave!

My brothers did not altogether relinquish the management of our plantation. They insisted, at first, that the missionary should be ejected at a moment's notice. If I ever felt a just indignation in a just cause,

It was on this hateful occasion. I sternly assured my partners, that if the religious establishment at the Lagoon were broken up, I would abandon the island at once, and venture to Europe, a homeless and pennyless wanderer. They were therefore afraid of losing their agent, and one who had a necessary interest in their prosperity; and so we came to a compromise. The mission remained; and things *were* to go on as before.

But I continued to be involved in a difficulty yet more formidable. I was all the while supporting a system disallowed by an enlightened conscience. Yet how could I escape? There were palliatives, and extenuations. Such I professed to discover myself; and such my correspondents—not indeed all of them—discovered, when I laid the case before them*.

The reader who has regularly accompanied my progress through details intended to expose, in all their vileness, the vices of West-Indian oppression, may be startled, when I tell him, without farther preliminaries, that the estate, to the hour of my leaving it, was *not worked without the whip*—yes, notwithstanding the existence of the mission, and the anti-slavery principles of the resident proprietor!

Perhaps I ought to have called this memoir, The *Confessions* of a Planter. Such, in truth, they are, in the paragraphs immediately under the reader's eye. Neither worldly policy, nor religious feeling, demands, on this occasion, concealment. Stigmatize me as a hypocrite—a man of inconsistencies—what you will. If innocent, no reproaches can criminate me. If

* See Appendix XVII.

guilty, I yield to the sentence. I will at least anticipate the accusations, that I had no moral right to exact labour from men who had never forfeited their liberty; that the property was essentially criminal; and that a stain on my character was contracted which may never be expunged.

I also know, that I might have renounced the inheritance; as, *to my certain knowledge*, was done by an individual, after five years' familiarity with a system which had enriched his uncle, and was destined to enrich himself.

But, guilty or innocent, or placed at a dubious point between right and wrong—if any narrow strip of neutral ground can be discovered—I will never surrender my claim to be heard, supported as I am by the direct testimony of the colonists themselves, as counsel for the children of affliction in the British sugar islands. My personal intimacy with colonial practice gives me at least the power of faithfully delineating its character.

The estate was not worked without the whip. But its penalties were inflicted in the very mildest form consistent with a resolution, on my part, to deliver the slaves, since slaves they continued to be, from the effects of their own misbehaviour. They were not allowed to be indolent. Black men in Jamaica, are, if possible, as idle, reckless, and improvident as a Lancashire weaver at high wages, who can afford to bury himself in the debaucheries of the second and third days of the week.

There are only two ways in which labour can be drawn from any number of human beings: the one by coercion, the other by self-interest—meaning that

ecies of selfishness which persuades a man to yield
s exertions for subsistence or comfort; in short, for
ages. You must operate upon him either by reward,
by positive punishment, or by the dread of starva-
on. Merely to provide him a house for shelter,
od, clothes, and medicine in sickness, is neither more
or less than you do for your horse, or parish pauper;
id can never induce any exertion beyond the tale of
tracted labour. I knew perfectly well the absurdity
f trying to make sugar by coaxing unpaid labourers
o be industrious. I was equally aware of the differ-
nce between the impartial administration of a com-
ulsory system, and the demoniacal practice of over-
eers and drivers. This will be farther explained, in
he sequel, in the instance of Mr. Dougan.

In the mean time, I must entreat my accusers to
ive me credit for the assertion, that, had I deserted
he Lagoon at my sisters' marriage, the moral structure
rected by my father would have speedily fallen; and
hat our Negroes would have lost many years of com-
arative comfort. I may be excused, perhaps, for re-
ating, that when I was about finally to leave the
state, the slaves crowded around me, with such im-
ortunate prayers that I would stay, and not abandon
hem to such superiors as they knew would succeed
ne, that I felt the most pungent emotions of shame at
he prospect of my desertion. I was conscious, as it
were, of more criminality in retiring from a wicked
ystem, than in having supported it. If this be a pa-
adox, it shall be left, if solvable, to the solution of
others. In point of fact, I stood, for many years, be-
ween the slaves and their oppressors; and a wearisome

post it was—not, I allow, without many alleviations arising from the operation and success of the religious part of our system, notwithstanding all opposition. Neither did I relinquish the post at last, till my spirits and health sunk under its anxieties, and the influences of climate. I will not say that I acquit myself for having so long been, in whatever degree, partaker of other men's sins; nor can I peremptorily condemn the man who made very costly sacrifices to mitigate the sufferings of the miserable.

At one period I endeavoured to introduce a modification of Mr. Steele's system *, but utterly in vain. My partners would not listen to the proposal, detached though it was from directly Christian efforts. For as to all my attempts to found obedience, industry, and regularity, on religion — on the religion of Jesus Christ, and him crucified—they were derided and opposed with a bitterness similar to what, I imagined, must have characterized the anti-Christian conspiracy under Condorcet and Voltaire. The Gospel, however, has in all ages thrived beneath the darkness of persecution; and when I think of our faithful missionary's success, of the peaceful deaths of some of our Negroes, and of the consistency of many yet surviving, I am reminded of the tender remembrances of one in the earliest age of the church, when he writes, 'Of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep!'

With what painful anticipation, yet, at the same time, as I trust, with entire acquiescence in the just

* See Appendix XVIII.

gment of God, do I also reflect on the same Apo-
's language,—'It is a righteous thing with God
recompense tribulation to them that trouble you;
l to you, who are troubled, rest with us, when the
rd Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his
ghty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on
m that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel
our Lord Jesus Christ.'—Since my departure from
e estate, I have often mused also on another solemn
ssage from the inspired record; where St. Paul tells
ne early converts to be 'in nothing terrified by
eir adversaries, which,' he adds, 'is *to them* an evi-
nt token of perdition!'

I do not say but that scoffers at the Lagoon had
son to complain of the inconsistency of several
ong our converts; who, like the hearers on stony
ound, received the word with joy, but in time of
nptation fell away, and brought disgrace on what
s ignorantly called the new religion. But so it has
er been, and ever will be! When the college of the
postles consisted of only twelve persons, one was a
itor, another denied his Lord; and, in the hour of
tremity, all the rest forsook him and fled. 'Have
t I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?—
l ye shall be offended because of me this night—Be-
e the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.' But,
in primitive times Christianity was made, by the
idel world, answerable for the crimes of its profes-
s; so, among the scoffers on our estate, the treachery
false friends was all laid at the door of the mis-
nary and his patrons.

I wondered, at the time, to see such a furious and

fiery spirit manifest itself; but I have since observed exactly the same at home; and I remember being surprised, when a boy at Ravenswood, to hear—for boys usually manage to hear every thing in their little world of a village—hard speeches against my tutor; and, I am now convinced, from the same cause which originated what is above described; namely, the inherent hatred of the human heart to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. One thing was, of course, very obvious:—our White agents could no longer wallow in fraud and sensuality, undisturbed by the reproofs of conscience (in some degree enlightened), and by the visible rhetoric (as Hooker calls it) of the integrity and purity of our really Christian slaves, and their minister. Had our managers possessed the sagacity and genius of a certain living satirist, they would have addressed our missionary in the language which he puts into the mouth of a veteran debauchee, when advising a young clergyman how to avoid giving offence:—

'Dwell not one moment on a faith that shocks
The minds of men sincere and orthodox;
That starving faith, that would our tables clear,
And make one dreadful Lent of all the year;
And cruel too, for this the faith that rends
Confiding beauties from protecting friends;——
For, sir, consider—what your neighbours do
Is their own business, and concerns not you:
Shun all resemblance to that forward race
Who preach of sins before a sinner's face;
And seem as if they overlook'd a pew,
Only to drag a failing man in view;——
Yet of our duties you must something tell,
And must, at times, on sin and frailty dwell;

Here you may preach in easy, flowing style,
How errors cloud us, and how sins beguile;
But let it always for your zeal suffice,
That vice you combat, in the abstract—vice:
The very captious will be quiet then;
We all confess we are offending men:
In lashing sin, of every stroke beware,
For sinners feel, and sinners you must spare:
In general satire, every man perceives
A slight attack; yet neither fears nor grieves;
But name the offence, and you absolve the rest,
And point the dagger at a single breast*.'

All this, however, was said in vulgar and abusive prose; and I had heard exactly the same thing at the bacchanalian parties in Kingston, on my arrival from Africa.

The agents at the Lagoon were also exasperated by the daily proof, that such slaves as act from religious motives attend to their business much better than such as are compelled; and by observing also, that our steady converts attained a certain elevation and dignity of mind and character, which made their persecutors feel their own inferiority and insignificance.

During the course of these things, my nurse Mahali died in peace; and, long before her death, owned to me, with many tears, the injuries she feared she had done me in my childhood. But she added, 'I did it ignorantly in unbelief; or rather, before an object of belief was ever offered to me.' She said also, that, next to her own salvation, her highest delight was in the hope she possessed of my having a share in the same consolations which supported her in the prospect of eternity. Cæsar finished his earthly pilgrimage two years after her; and, in his last days, mentioned the

* Crabbe's Works, v. 105.

text of the first sermon he heard at Ravenswood church; recapitulated all that he remembered from his introduction to the S—— family; and charged me, should I ever revisit England, to tell them that it was a happy day when he was shipwrecked on the southern coast, and a happier one when he came within their influence. Daniel also died; and grieved am I to confess, that he went to his grave, not indeed a depraved and ostensibly irreligious character, but in a state of indifference. He never professed himself a Christian, and he did not directly oppose religion in others. He was naturally kind-hearted and cheerful, but he took no interest in what he read and heard. There was an apathy about him, and an acquiescence in the truth of what we told him; but beyond this he seemed never to advance. He expired without alarm, and without any apparent consciousness of a life to come. He died in the house; and, as one of our domestics said, like a lamb; and another spoke about his happy release. Mahali and Cæsar were spared the pain of witnessing such a departure. I need not mention their extreme anxiety, before their own deaths, that Daniel might yet become a Christian.

My father and my mother died about six years after my return home. Of them I shall say no more than record, in this place, my gratitude for their quiet and happy dismission from a world which, however late in their career, they had learned to pity and to renounce; and thankfully to exchange for a heavenly inheritance.

Instead of particularizing the improvements on the estate *, I shall so far escape the charge of egotism by

* See Appendix XIX.

describing the success of Mr. Dougan, several years since, on the Profit Plantation in Berbice, as related by Dr. Pinckard; who writes:—'I know not whether upon any occasion, since my departure from England, I have experienced such true pleasure as in witnessing the comfort and happiness enjoyed by the slaves of Profit. Mr. Dougan not only grants them many little indulgences, and studies to make them happy, but he generously fosters them with a father's care; and they, sensible of his tenderness towards them, look to their revered master as a kind and affectionate parent; and with undivided, unsophisticated attachment, cheerfully devote to him their labour and their lives. Not satisfied with bestowing upon his slaves more food and raiment, Mr. Dougan establishes for them a kind of right. He assures to them certain property; endeavours to excite feelings of emulation among them; and to inspire them with a spirit of neatness and order, not commonly known among slaves: and I am happy to add, that the effects of his friendly attentions towards them are strongly manifested in their persons, their dwellings, and their general demeanour. Perhaps it were not too much to say, that the Negro yard at Profit forms one of the happiest villages within the wide circle of the globe! The labouring poor of Europe can attain to no state at all adequate to such slavery; for had they equal comforts, still could they never be equally free from care. The slaves of Mr. Dougan are not only fed and clothed, and tenderly watched in sickness, without any personal thought or concern, but each has his appropriate spot of ground, and his cot-

tage, in which he feels a right as sacred as if secured to him by all the seals and parchments of the Lord High Chancellor of England and his court. Happy and contented, the slave of Profit sees all his wants supplied. Having never been in a state of freedom, he has no desire for it. Not having known liberty, he feels not the privation of it; nor is it within the power of his mind either to conceive or comprehend the sense we attach to the term. Were freedom offered to him, he would refuse to accept it; and would only view it as a state fraught with certain difficulties and vexations, but offering no commensurate good. 'Who give me for n'yaam, massa,' he asks, 'if me free? Who give me clothes? Who send me doctor when me sick?'——From what has been said you will perceive, that to do justice to the merit of Mr. Dougan would require a far more able pen. His humane and liberal conduct does him infinite honour; while the richness of the estate, and the happiness of the slaves, loudly proclaim his attentive concern. We were pleased with all around us; but to witness so happy a state of slavery gave us peculiar delight. The cottages and little gardens of the Negroes exhibited a degree of neatness and of plenty, that might be envied by free-born Britons, not of the poorest class. The huts of Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, nay, many even of England itself, bear no comparison with these. In mpulsive delight, I ran into many of them, surprising the slaves with an unexpected visit; and, verily, I say the peasantry of Europe might envy these dwellings of slavery. They mostly consist of a comfortable sit-

-room, and a neat well-furnished bed-room. In I observed a high bedstead, according to the pre- t European fashion, with deep mattrasses, all neatly de up, and covered with a clean white counterpane: bed-posts, drawers, and chairs bearing the high ish of well-rubbed mahogany. I felt a desire to ow my head in this hut for the night; it not having en to my lot, since I left England, to repose on so iting a couch. The value of the whole was tenfold ;mented by the contented slaves being able to say, ll this we feel to be our own.'——Too often, in re- ding the countenance of a slave, it may be observed, t

Dark Melancholy sits, and round her throws
A death-like silence, and a dread repose:

throughout Mr. Dougan's happy gang the more king features are those of mirth and glee: for here merry dance and jovial song prevail, and all are aries to joy and harmony. Before the doors of the s, and around these peaceful dwellings, are seen at numbers of pigs and poultry, which the slaves allowed to raise for their own profit; and from the k thus bred in the Negro yard, the master usually chases the provisions of his table, paying to the groes the common price for which they would sell he market.——The conduct of Mr. Osborn to his es, and indeed of many others I might mention, lso very highly commendable. The Negroes of adia have much cause of contentment; their hap- ess and welfare being guarded with a parental care. re all masters kind and humane, as Mr. Dougan his neighbour, slavery might have few enemies;

and the peasants of Europe, amidst their boasted freedom, might sigh in vain for the happiness enjoyed by *slaves!*' (ii. 205—209.)

But the paradise of slaves, like Eden itself, may be also lost! The Profit met the ordinary fate of such property, namely, a quick succession of owners: and this soon after Dr. Pinckard's departure. Mr. Dougan did not long survive; and his plantation devolved by will to his numerous children, some of whom were in the West Indies, and others resident in Europe. But so brittle is the thread of human life in the colonies, that, quickly after their parent's death, three only of the adult successors to the property were alive; and these fixed their residence in England. So that whatever might be the family's wish to perpetuate Mr. Dougan's benevolence, the Negroes must, of course, have been abandoned to the care of agents and sub-agents*.

* Since the above was written, I observe the following specimen of the grievances endured by the slaves on this very estate—now in the hands of sequestrators,—taken from the Berbice Fiscal's official returns; printed by order of the House of Commons, June 23, 1825.

'Hutchinson, the manager, is too cross; he will not give task-work, but works them by the day to that degree that they have no time to get their breakfast; he comes after 11 o'clock in the field, and says we do not work enough; the driver must give us twenty-five lashes every day. If we are flogged, we go to the burgher officer to complain; he gives us a letter to the manager; but he says, I want no letter, and the complainant is laid down and flogged: two of the Negroes have letters they received from the burgher officer, which were given them by the manager after being flogged. We have no attorney, or at least we hear of none, and we have not seen one for five months: there is no fish nor salt on the estate; we have not had clothes, this makes the third year, nor have we pipes or tobacco; we make plenty of rum, but never get a glass of it: if we feel our skin hurt us, and complain of sickness, we are flogged; he then mixes salts, jalap, and calomel together, which is given to drink. Rose

The Christian reader will perceive a very serious deficiency in the statement about the Profit. No mention is made of religious culture. If, then, the proprietor's success was so considerable in the absence of such a means, what must be the result, where the Gospel becomes an efficient principle of action? My own experience forbids me indeed, on this subject, to be an enthusiast. Man is man, from the Poles to the Equator; but I am sure of this, that no *permanent* improvement will ever exist, separately from pure and influential Christianity. Nothing is said of the moral

went to say she was sick; she was flogged with the whip, and is yet cut. The manager says we are making bargain; we do not know what he means; he makes us think upon what we don't want. Sandy shows some stripes; he received them in the field from the driver by order of the overseer; he says it is for work, as we make a bargain not to work. Having made our complaint to the burgher officer, who never came to the estate, but gave us letters which were not attended to, and not knowing that we have any attorney or proprietor, we came to the Fiscal to complain. We do not wish to run away in the bush, but we look for help. The manager came in the field the other day after dinner; as soon as he came into the field, he laid the driver down and flogged him; next Sandy, and then me: I asked what I had done; but four Negroes were made to hold me, and I was flogged. I went to Mr. Munro to complain; he told me the manager could not have flogged me for nothing; I suppose you gave him sauce. He went next morning to the manager, who said I had been saucy. I was locked up in the stocks day and night; I think I was confined two weeks; manager said I should stop there till Christmas, because I went to complain to Munro; I asked leave to go out to ease myself, and made my escape; stocks are now full of people. Hannah has a severe cold, and complains of pain in the stomach; she says she is locked up in the stocks: the manager says, if she dies, he does not lose *his* money; the Negroes went to complain to the fiscal, and he came on the estate: and what did he do? Rose said she had a pain in her side, and begged for a blister; the manager said he would give her a blister; she was laid down and flogged, the marks still visible.' (p. 64.)

state of the Profit slaves. A fearful degree of licentiousness, and utter darkness of mind, might have coexisted with all their animal happiness.

I do not question but that Dr. Pinckard gives a faithful record of things as they actually appeared to him, when a transient spectator; and it would be affectation in myself to say, that he could not have witnessed a fair shew of plantation felicity, had he visited the Lagoon. But, in either case, the examination must necessarily have been hasty and superficial. To an occasional visitor, most of my slaves might have had the exterior of content and prosperity; and fine compliments were many a time poured forth at the novelty or rareness of the sight. But I, who lived among them, had ample reason to know, that much of this imposing spectacle was unsubstantial and shadowy. And why? Not only because the Negroes were *still slaves;* but because, though they were abundantly indulged, and though my father was a second Dougan, yet many, and I am afraid, a majority, of our four hundred Blacks remained under the influence of the errors and practical wickedness of our common nature. Therefore, the happiness among us was, in the same proportion, partially diffused; while, on the other hand, we had a species of happiness among our really Christian Negroes which—as far as the record goes—did not, and could not, exist at the Profit.

It is then surely a fair inference, that, had we compared the moral statistics of the two estates, the superiority in point of actual happiness would have been decidedly on the side of the Lagoon. Assuming that we had all the worldly sources of content enjoyed at

the Profit, we possessed the *superaddition* furnished by what the Scriptures term 'the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord.' We had also this prospective advantage, that if our Christian slaves should at any time be deprived of their merely earthly privileges, *they* could never be robbed of their reversionary treasure in the life to come; neither of the previous anticipations of its final possession.

All my design, in thus having made a certain comparison between Mr. Dougan's success, and my own—including, of course, the noble efforts of my late honoured father—is solely with a view to insist upon the necessity of combining every improvement, in colonial practice, with directly Christian principles.

Of the interior machinery of the Profit, I possess, however, from unquestionable information, sufficient knowledge generally to explain its visible movements. It was a system combining a paternal treatment with that species of unbending rigour which ensures punishment for neglect and indolence, as well as for obvious misconduct. Mr. Dougan, with all his philanthropy, was absolute; and his slaves knew him to be so. There was a firm, regular, uncompromising ministration of punishment—not a fitful, capricious exercise of power; but one proceeding on a dispassionate adaptation of means to the end; and perfectly distinct from the practice of low and unprincipled hirelings. Lord Clarendon somewhere speaks of one who was a severe but fair enemy; and such, I think, was the late owner of the Profit to his Negroes. I believe also, that to the same persons he was equally an indulgent but considerate friend.——This brief statement of his system

may explain and qualify Dr. Pinckard's report. I will only add, that I attempted to work similar machinery at the Lagoon. How far the effort was assisted by the superaddition of Christianity, and what was the amount of the beneficial result, will be calculated by such as honour this Memoir with an attentive perusal. It is not for me to bespeak their opinions.

With regard to the general subject, any attempts to reform the colonies proceeding on the *exclusion* of Christianity as a renovating principle, and merely built upon expediency, the philosophy of man, or upon political calculations, will fail of any lasting effect. This, to a certain extent, the more enlightened colonists know; but many of them linger and hesitate as to the adoption of any efficient plan to Christianize the land. The persons referred to are ashamed of the treatment which the missionaries have received, for many long years, both from the high and low vulgarians of the island; and they have looked in vain—except in a few insulated examples—for any display of zeal and energy from their established teachers.

I am the first to confess, that every just allowance should be made for our clergy, placed as they are in the very centre of temptation, planted in 'a soil the vices like;' and compelled to address those who regard the most delicate reproof as an insult, and intolerant of all religion, the moment it presumes to step beyond its forms and ceremonies, and to interfere with the routine of libertine habits. In this relation, how many gentlemen, of education and high breeding, sink to the sordid level of the *valet*, already described, who brought his body of divinity from Cuba! They have

no objection to the public and Sunday dress of Christianity, provided they are let alone in their every-day sins! They quarrel with the Gospel as a scheme of practical holiness; and never will propose terms of peace, till the dreams of profession vanish before the realities of principle, and themselves become able to say, 'We love Him because He first loved us.'— Often, in contemplating the general irreligion of the colony, have I been reminded of what the penitent Earl of Rochester said, when he laid his hand upon the Bible,—'A bad life is the only grand objection to this book.'

But I pass from these obvious reflections to present a few notices of the history of the missionaries, who have endeavoured, at various times, to open paradise in the moral wild of my native country: and thither the Wesleyans first came in 1789; when by some they were favourably received. But opposition speedily arose, in the usual form of mobs and riots; the detail of which would be only the repetition of a tale very familiar to any person conversant with the history of persecution. There was, however, something original in the proceedings of our colonial legislature, requiring further explanation. In 1802*, the Meetings of the Methodists were indicted as nuisances; but, the prosecutors not being able to criminate either preachers or hearers, the prosecution was abandoned. At this point, the Assembly of the island passed an Act, ordaining, that no persons should teach, on pain of being deemed rogues and vagabonds; that, if the offender were a

* Similar proceedings had indeed taken place in 1791; but I prefer relating the History of My Own Times.

freeman, he should be committed to the work-house, and kept to hard labour, one month for the first offence, and six months on every repetition of it; if a slave, hard labour for the first offence, and for any subsequent one a public flogging. Other penalties were denounced for such as should be *participes criminis*. But this anti-Christian Act was disowned by George the Third, who, as Cowper wrote of him,

> —— gave Religion her unbridled scope,
> Nor judged by statute a believer's hope;—

and, in consequence, the Act, after two years' operation, was silenced. But the Assembly soon returned to the attack. In a corporation bill for the town of Kingston, a bye-law was passed, not perceived by the Board of Trade at home, and therefore confirmed by the King, which enabled the Common Council, in 1807, to revive, within their jurisdiction, the general enactment of 1802; and the Assembly, about the same time, actually re-established their law of 1802—under another form indeed, but so constructed as completely to crush, a second time, the efforts of the Methodists. The Assembly, well aware of his Majesty's determination to refuse the Royal sanction to such measures, resorted to the artifice of engrafting the new attempt upon an Act connected with more general regulations about the slaves. Again they were baffled; and so resolute was the Government at home to prevent future impositions, that his Majesty issued a general order to all the colonial governors, that they should, on no pretence whatever, give their assent to any law connected with religion, till such law had been *previously* examined and sanctioned by the King. The

Assembly, in its paroxysms of disappointment, came to such extraordinary resolutions, and proceeded with such violence, that the Duke of Manchester immediately dissolved them.

In 1810 they again passed an evasive law—But I have no room for details; and shall leave this part of the subject, with a remark, which must have been anticipated—namely, that all along there was an obstinate perseverance in the Assembly to be, in ecclesiastical matters, entirely independent of the mother country, by thus resisting the progress of Christianity *. In recent years, the state of things was altered; and about the time I left Jamaica the Wesleyans had in their societies 7,676 members, of whom only thirty-three were Whites.

Similar opposition was, of course, manifested in other islands. Will it be believed, that so lately as 1792 the Assembly of St. Vincent's passed a law—it is true, in a thin house, and against almost the general opinion of the inhabitants, but still the law *did* pass—that if a missionary were, for the second offence against such law, banished from the island, and he presumed to return, he should be punished with DEATH! But here also his late Majesty came to the succour of his persecuted subjects.——The rebellion in Barbadoes (1816) was charged upon the missionaries; when, at that very time, out of a slave population of 71,215, only thirty-six Negroes were Methodists; and there was not a single preacher on the island.

I am the last man to indulge the idle dream of

* See Appendix XX.

finding any thing like perfection in any society formed of human materials. Yet how many members of our own church appear to insist upon the necessary and unstained purity of the clerical body, in the very face of their own confession, that 'in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the administration of the word and sacraments!'* This honest avowal applies to all communions; though I owe it to the Wesleyan Missionaries to declare, that no serious accusation brought against them in Jamaica—as far as I know—was ever substantiated. Some of them acted imprudently; and certainly, in many instances, exhibited more of the dove than the serpent. In a recent instance also, certain of their number deviated from the instructions of their authorities; and, I am afraid, fondly thought to disarm the enemy by concessions. The experiment involved them in difficulty, and brought no counter advantage. It was lowering their colours to the world; and the world, as in all such cases, would turn round and deride them. I was thankful to observe the entire disapprobation expressed of their conduct at home.——If the colonial legislature had published in its Acts a *definition* of the difference between a missionary as such, and a pretender in the dress of a missionary, and described the doctrine and life which discriminated the two characters, all would have been well. But this was never done.

* * * * * * * * *

I finally left Jamaica in the same year (1821) with

* See Appendix XXI.

Mr. Stewart, and brought home with me Daniel the second; to whom, on leaping upon the quay at Liverpool, I said, 'Now you have touched English ground, and are a free man.'—Sir,' he replied, with a smile—not with the imbecile grin of an adult child—'I have always been free: there were no slaves at the Lagoon; thanks to our late master and his successor.' How easily do men learn to flatter! and Daniel was a man; and knew all the while that there *were* slaves, in all senses, among his late comrades! But he had a meaning of his own, which I did not misunderstand. He has since continued in my service; but I am now afraid of losing him, as he has discovered very serious symptoms of being in love with a young woman in the village; and, on their marriage, he shall, with my perfect consent, forget me—at least relatively—and think only of Elizabeth and himself.

On coming home, I first wended my way to my aunt, whom I found still at Bath; left a widow, and in comparatively straitened circumstances. 'I thought her,' as Johnson said in a very similar case, 'much decayed; and that I saw in her withered features more impression of sorrow than of time. He that wanders about the world sees new forms of human misery; and if he chance to meet an old friend, meets a face darkened with troubles *.'

She gave me the history of *her* own time since our separation, and said, that she had never forgotten the few days spent at Ravenswood. 'Dr. S——,' she observed, 'surprised and offended me, by sinking the

* Letters to Mrs. Thrale, i. 106.

civilised and Christian people of England to the level of the Africans: but I have found out, to my cost, that he was perfectly right! Your uncle and I might attribute, and in fact did, much of our loss to what they call here *confidential servants*,—a class of persons who thoroughly enslave their masters and mistresses. Our butler governed us and all the household; with the assistance, however, of the lady's maid;—the coachman was lord of the stables, as well as of those whom he drove every Sunday to the Octagon, and in the week-day to the Rooms;—and between our White *driver*, and our two *overseers* in the house, there was a solemn league and covenant to play into each other's hands—till our establishment broke up; when the butler married the lady's maid, gave 500*l.* for the good-will and so-forth of a public-house at Bristol, where they flourish;—the coachman wore himself out by drinking, and left his property among his natural children.—Yet these three conspirators regularly attended church, and even had their favourite preachers, and were all extremely afraid of enthusiasm. But let these things pass.—I saw evidently one thing in the Ravenswood family,—that they possessed resources to which I was a stranger.—I had then, indeed, my days of ennui and languor; but had buoyancy of spirits sufficient soon to forget them, and therefore was tolerably independent of Dr. S——'s comforts. But days of darkness have since saddened life; and I have been driven upon myself—and a poor resource has it been! In the gay world I am already superannuated: others have taken my place, and will bask and flutter in the world's sunshine, till *their* evening also comes; and the

shadows of night will soon follow!'——My aunt died rather unexpectedly; but in what state of mind death found her I do not presume to define. I remember her, on one occasion, citing, with bitter feelings, 'See how the world its veterans rewards,' &c.

To Ravenswood I journeyed next; and might have said, 'If thou be'est *it*, but oh how fallen!' My old tutor, of whose happy death I had heard many years before, was succeeded by one who had not only pulled down the vicarage—for which I quite commend him—and built a spruce villa-like house, with verandahs and all the modern *tasty* things; but he had also pulled down the former system of doctrine and holy living, and replaced it by such preaching and conduct as well consisted with the new vicarage. Miss S—— survived, as the solitary column of a ruined temple in the wilderness: and never did I witness the dignity of the Christian character more evident than in her matured piety. She was living on a competent income—that is, quite equal to her own moderate habits, however unequal to her expansive benevolence towards others. She was cheerful; and had become, as will be supposed, her father's representative in all good works; and especially the spiritual counsellor of such among the villagers as too quickly found their pastor's loss could not elsewhere be supplied. I told my old friend all my colonial stories; and we both agreed that 'many-coloured life' exhibited only one tint, whether at home or in the west,—the dark shading of the Fall!

On my arrival in England, I found religionists of

most classes busy in their societies; and soon joined *this* circle of fashion, by frequent attendance at public meetings; where I was alternately gratified and grieved, as the speakers displayed the spirit of Christianity, or the spirit of that wider world, which, instead of pitying, they were too fond of deriding. But what was my astonishment to find, in quarters where I least expected to be startled by the discovery, philanthropists who embraced in their calculations the thousand millions of mankind—their own enumeration of the earth's inhabitants—but had forgotten to particularize among these, the 800,000 children of misery, who had a super-added claim, indeed a three-fold claim, to their sympathy,—as fellow-men, as fellow-subjects, and as slaves under 'our glorious constitution in church and state!'

In 1823—the year of Mr Canning's Resolutions—a friend and I canvassed a certain town for signatures to an anti-slavery petition; worded, be it observed, with all possible attention to delicacy on the part of those who were asked for their names.

We first invaded the comfortable study of a book-worm; who reached down his lexicons to shew the inaccuracy of the translation of δουλος*; which, he asserted, meant *slave;* and therefore slavery was justified by St. Paul, who said, '*Slaves*, obey in all things your masters.' He was indeed aware, he said, of the com-

* Had he referred to Parkhurst on this word, he might have shewn himself and us the fearful similarity between the slavery of the Roman idolaters, and the existing practice of colonial Christians.

mand given in the next chapter to *masters*; but added, 'The Apostle, gentlemen, confesses himself that he became all things to all men, and that to the weak he became as weak—which I take to have been the case here—and therefore he consulted the prejudices of all parties; and, of course, gave a kind of delicate hint to masters; but could by no means intend to convulse the infant church by letting loose the slaves of Colosse.'—We attempted no reply; and the student was evidently impatient of all interruption; being engaged, as he intimated, in his long-promised work on the Principles of Moral Equity; and said something about his conviction, that the school of Godwin would now be silenced for ever.

We next waited on a dignified ecclesiastic; who sternly declined to interfere, alleging that the business was already in the hands of Government. If this reason were valid, I cannot account for the activity shewn by this very recusant, when, a month before, he had canvassed the same town for signatures to an anti-Catholic petition; for *that* business also was already in the hands of Government.

Another gentleman refused even to look at our paper; because its object, as he vehemently declaimed, was befriended by sectaries. 'True, sir,' answered my companion; 'and it was also befriended by Bishops Porteus, Horsley, Watson, Barrington, Burgess; also by Paley; and *once* by the majority of our clergy. Besides, if the goodness of a cause be measured by its supporters or its opposers, *no* cause could possibly either stand or fall.'—But we were dismissed, and without a reply.

A fourth person condemned us for intruding into politics; though he had just returned from town, having been deputed, with two other merchants, to present a *remonstrance* at the Home Office, on the intention of Ministers to lay a new duty on tallow, or Norway timber, or something which interfered with the trade of the town—and, by the way, the deputation was successful.

Another application was made to a banker, who said, 'that our scheme was of no kind of use; for that other nations would continue their slavery in spite of all the Lord Bathursts in the world.—Nay,' he added, —'only just look for one moment at what the Spaniards and French are doing on the coast of Africa, where the *trade* is a thousand times more cruel than ever—so no plans of yours will stop *them*.'—We could only reply, by reminding the objector that the crimes of others would not excuse ourselves; and that, on his principle, the Directors of the Bank of England ought never to have led a forger to execution, since a new set of forgers and swindlers would repeat his frauds, and therefore things would be as bad as ever.

A sixth recusant was a notorious Radical; who laughed most vociferously at our attempt; and begged us first to emancipate the slaves at home, and then cross the Atlantic at our leisure*.

* On a future occasion, and soon after the erection of the West-India episcopate, I was refused by an individual, 'because,' he said, 'we have now an effective church establishment, and all your meddling will never be wanted.' The effectiveness of any new scheme, I told him, was future; and he might look to Ireland to see the efficiency produced, after centuries of experiment, by the most affluent hierarchy in Europe. I added also, that there were religious societies in Ireland, and

I was, however, little disturbed by discomfitures of this kind, compared with the mortification I felt when once begged for the vote and interest of an eminent orator, traversing the country on behalf of a missionary institution. I gave him *my* best wishes, and five sovereigns as an appendix; attended the next meeting, and settled my bamboo on the floor at the close of his speech. Whether all this were done in the regular course of bribery and corruption, I leave to the discoverers of motives. But it is too certain that I had no success. I found afterwards, that some near relatives of this gentleman possessed a considerable estate in one of the Leeward Islands. How far this connection with the colonies influenced his opinions I shall not presume to decide. But the principles he was perpetually enforcing from the hustings could never co-exist with a system of cruelty and oppression. 'Our brethren of mankind'—'partakers of the common salvation'—'the freedom and unlimited offers of the Gospel'—'the abolition of an economy once confined to a single nation'—'the suitableness of the religion of Jesus to all the children of Adam, without exception'—'the glorious fruits of Christianity in the melioration of the human race'—'the abolished barbarisms of the

in England also, supported by prelates and patricians on both sides of the Channel; which were regarded as co-operators, and not as meddlers.—Another person said, 'Pray, sir, how will you compensate the planters for the loss of their estates, and the nation for the ruin of its richest colonies? *My* maxim is, Do as you would be done by.'—Questions are sometimes best answered by questions—as thus: 'Pray, sir, how will you compensate the slaves for the loss of their country, liberty, families; and for the ruin of their health; for the gashes of whips, and branding; and the females for *their* superaddition of insult and misery? *My* maxim is, Do as you would be done by.'

ancient world, in the shews of gladiators, and the hard bondage of captives taken in war'—these, and a thousand equivalent phrases, were sprinkled over the addresses delivered by this popular speaker.——The vicar of Ravenswood used to say, that one favourite reason men usually gave for their attachments to different forms of ecclesiastical government, and to various political parties—namely, that their ancestors and present connections were Churchmen or Dissenters, Tories or Whigs—was precisely the very argument which should lead such logicians to suspect their own ability to judge righteous judgment. Their opinions were, in fact, like votes purchased previously to an election. He also used to ask, what we should think of a Continental Papist, who opposed the Church of England because he was descended from the family of Bellarmine or Bossuet;—or of a smuggler, who defended his calling, since he could prove that some grand relations of his on the coast of Sussex always bought cheap brandy?

It is a strange world, and a changeable. We may yet live to see the day, when the religious public will feel utterly torpid and incredulous about the state of Hindostan, Sierra Leone, Polynesia, and South America; and begin to question the tales of Juggernaut, greegrees, rain-makers, and the deficiency of Bibles in Brazil or Chili. They may tax the Reports of our Societies with exaggerations on all these subjects; and plead that Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Maurice, Brother Carey, and Mr. Ellis, were also severally imposed upon; and that the excellent authoress of the Indian Pilgrim need not have told so gloomy a tale of

superstitions and thick darkness of British India. To this accusation may be subjoined the consideration, that an effective church establishment, and a college besides, will speedily extinguish all the funeral piles of the East, and convert every pagoda into a Christian temple.

I could not refrain from reminding the receiver of my five sovereigns, that up to the year 1807, when our Government abolished the Slave Trade, the tide of moral feeling throughout the empire flowed strongly in favour of the Negroes. Why has it since ebbed, and always kept far below the high-water mark? Why have the religionists of the times been shy of no other appeal to their philanthropy, saving and excepting the case of the slaves? Nay, such is the unaccountable inconsistency of some among us, that they will not observe neutrality. Yet these are days when schemes of good seem to be *the rage!* Happy is he who can attend ten committees every week; and happier, if he can invent a new society, or open, to one already established, a fresh channel of benevolence!

I paid also, but very recently, a visit to Oxford; where I found Cyril Jackson—in living marble; exactly as he used sometimes to sit in Hall, in former years. My poor cousin died, long ago, in college; and had he never attended at a *gaudy*, or at similar scenes of temptation, might, as I was informed by the successor to his rooms, have lost his head-aches: but these continued, to the last, to be interwoven into his constitution; though disentangled, at intervals, by Dr. Wall's mixture, the anti-dyspeptic of a Fellow of Magdalen.—I am afraid that the University has partaken of the

spirit of colonial feeling, and all but forgotten the principles it espoused when represented by Sir William Dolben,—the man who tried, with whatever success, to mitigate the terrors of the middle passage. I looked into my old rooms at Christ Church; and into the apartment also where was held the wine-party just before my departure to Africa. 'Where are the companions of my youth? and Echo answered, Where?'

One of them I found settled on a living in a midland county,—FREDERIC, the human guide of my earlier days! He possessed more than the common share of happiness allotted, even to the happy, in an excellent wife and a numerous family, in the success of his ministry, and in the affections of a circle of characters like himself. In a journey which we took together, last year, into Lancashire, we were persuaded to attend a crowded meeting convened by the Catholics, where one of the assembly addressed the chair as follows *:—'In rising, sir, to second the motion of my Honourable Friend, I shall not affect to emulate that eloquence which at once enraptures and convinces,

* The reader is particularly requested, before the perusal of the speech in the text, to bear in mind, that a precisely similar address, *mutatis mutandis*, might have been delivered by a partisan on the other side, equally annihilating the credit of Lingard, Doyle, Milner, and Butler; and setting the question at rest, not in its abstract character, but as dependent on the private history and controversial powers of the opponents of Protestanism. Let it be also recollected, that the cruelties asserted to be practised on a sugar plantation either exist or do not exist, quite independently of the efforts of the Quarterly Review to sink the reputation of the Abolitionists by personality. The friends of the parties mentioned in succeeding notes are not unconscious of the strength derived to those gentlemen and their cause, from the derision and reproach of persons avowedly paid by the colonial treasury.

whenever and wherever he indulges an audience by its display; but confine my humble attempt to a few practical points, bearing directly upon the question between us and our opponents. And first, sir, I would reprobate the invidious assertion, that the Catholicism of the present day is the Catholicism of by-gone years. Who are the parties who allege this? First and foremost, I shall indulge you with the veracious authority of Mr. Blanco White (*a laugh*); and yet this very Blanco, by his own confession, sneaked away from his country about twenty years ago; and I should be glad to be informed what this renegade can know of what has taken place in Spain since his exemplary conversion *.—I only desiderate that the adverse party would select, for their own sake, at least, credible witnesses; and remember what Swift—the man who wrote the Tale of a Tub—used to say on similar occasions; 'I wish, when the Pope weeds his garden, he would not throw his nettles over our wall! † (*laughter*).——Then, gentlemen, we have the Laureate, who has sung or said innumerable homilies against us, both in reviews and in original works—very original indeed. But when did this witness visit Madrid? Why, by his own tale, so complacently told in his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*—and in which, by the way, he takes a reverend care to vindicate none but himself—only some thirty years ago!—And what was Mr. Southey at that period?

* 'Mr. Stephen and Mr. Macaulay have been in that quarter of the world' (the West Indies), 'at a period too remote to bring under their observation the improvements of the last twenty years.' (Quarterly Review, No. 58. 495.)

† 'Defence of the Creed and Discipline of the Church; against the Rev. J. Blanco White, &c.; by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, Missionary Apostolic.' 1826. 7.

Why—I'll tell you a little secret—he used to write sentimental inscriptions for the cells of regicides—witness that for Marten, in Chepstow Castle *—and also such useful lessons of loyalty as *Wat Tyler* (*thunders of applause*). And this is the man who now edifies us by Books of the Church, and by whistling answers to Mr. Butler!——But others are in the rear; and I shall call up Dr. Philpotts, and Mr. Townsend. When were these defenders of the faith at Rome? I believe, never †. But I can tell you *where they are*—one is at Stanhope, and the other at Northallerton; where both hold unanswerable arguments against us ‡—to say nothing of the conglomeration of logic ready for Mr. Townsend on the audit-days at Durham (*uproarious laughter*).——And these are the witnesses who tell us that the Catholicism of the current year is the Catholicism of a past age!—But I am not so ungenerous even to an enemy as to deny him a concession. I will then allow that the descriptions given in three volumes called Rome in the Nineteenth Century have some foundation in truth;—that there is such a thing, for example, as the *bambino*, and the holy staircase; and that thousands of knees, if you will, become in consequence exceedingly rheumatic;—that there is such a saint as St. Catherine of Sienna—we have saints also in England; to wit, St. Monday, and another more recently canonized, St. Tuesday; both of them the

Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin. No. I.

† 'Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Buxton have never seen the West Indies.' (Quarterly Review, No. 58. 495.)

‡ '—— a mere mercantile speculation, grounded on the idea that the ruin of our Western colonies would promote their own personal interests in the East.' (Quarterly Review, No. 68. 581.)

favourite tutelar deities of our Reformed brethren *(laughter)*;—that we also have an *Index Expurgatorius*, almost as exclusive as a Protestant theological review;—but I do insist, that these things are so far from being essential to the integrity of the Papal system, they are only exceptions to a rule—occasional deviations *—spots in the sun—stains easily expunged from the vestal purity of your mother's robe—*(hear! hear! hear!)*. And therefore in vain may the fair authoress—who, by the way, forgets the admonition of the Anglican Bible, 'I suffer not a woman to teach'—impose on the good sense of the nation her libellous details about the manners of Babylon. No, she has written too late in the day to be really credited. But ladies, like ourselves, may occasionally want a little money; and milliners' bills are heavy: so, if her five editions answer her purpose, I shall not blame her—*(cries of all fair, all fair!!)*——But, Mr. Chairman, to be serious—and serious on a subject where I blame my own levity—if the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland are to be insulted by writers, some of whom were once Catholics themselves; others witnesses of what they saw thirty years ago; and others, absolutely paid and pensioned as the advocates of a Protestant hierarchy; I do avow, that under such circumstances, truth—and truth only ever has been, is now, and I am determined always shall be, the pole-star of my conduct on this great question—truth, I aver, will be hooted out

* 'Examples of severity in the treatment of Negroes may, doubtless, be occasionally found among our colonists; but the question is, whether such examples are frequent, &c.' (Quarterly Review, No. 58. 490.)

of court, and the boasted equity of this country extinguished in darkness.——But before I sit down, I will invite our opponents to avail themselves of another mode of conviction. Let Mr. Townsend embark in the next steam-packet for Lisbon, and find his way to Madrid; and, upon my word, I believe even the familiars of the Inquisition throughout the Peninsula would receive him with civility *—indeed, I may here state, that the superiors of the Holy office have not taken the trouble of laying before Christendom an account of the actual condition of their prisoners, and of the degree of comfort enjoyed by them†—Let Mr. Townsend make the experiment, and he would ascertain how far what he calls the *Accusations of History against the Church of Rome* would be justified by the existing practice of Spain. I speak of this accuser with a moderation which it is impossible to feel towards some others. I am quite in despair of such as, like Mr. Irving *(peals of laughter)*, put up with the applausive titters of the ladies during the meetings of their *holy week* in May ‡. No; this Pontifex Maximus of the Caledonian Church, as well as Mr. Poynder, and all the way down to the secretaries of our innumerable

* 'If Mr. Buxton would go across the ocean stream, and see what he is so often talking about (and upon my word I believe the planters would receive him with civility), he would then know, &c.' (Coleridge, 232.)

† 'The West-India planters have not for many years taken the trouble of laying before the public an account of the actual condition of their Negroes, and of the degree of comfort enjoyed by them.' (Quarterly Review, No. 58. 477.)

‡ 'I am quite hopeless of those whose sole concern it seems to be to make a speech at the Freemasons' Tavern, and can put up with the admiration which issues from between fans and reticules.' (Coleridge, 300.)

ocieties, do indeed gain—what? why, notoriety at a ery cheap rate. They have very moderate talents * ut supply the defects by an exchequer of words, ords, words *(loud applause)*.——I now beg leave to econd the motion proposed by my Honourable Friend; amely, That petitions be presented to the two Houses of Parliament, suggesting the necessity of addressing his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to grant a commission to inquire into the actual state of the Roman-Catholic Church, with power to send a deputation to the Eternal City, in order to silence the clamours of the Ultra-Protestant. And, allow me to add, that, contrary to the custom of our opponents, who get their petitions subscribed by that numerous sect who have a fancy for using the cross as their signature †—this is their CRUSADE against us—*(shouts of laughter and applause)*—we will ensure the signature of our own address in a manner which will teach an enlightened legislature our entire independence of such learning as extends not beyond hieroglyphics or picture-language.'——The speaker sat down under the most vociferous cheering, which lasted for several minutes.

We did not stay to hear the rest of the speeches; but came away, with the reflection, that if an infidel might take his stand on the position just occupied by

* 'Gentlemen of the' (African) 'Institution, you have gained a great notoriety with moderate talents, and much declamation.' (Coleridge, 307.)

† '——all that numerous sect who have a fancy for using the cross as their signature'—'pamphlets....illustrated with pictures of Negroes in the act of being whipped····for the clearer understanding of those whose learning extends not beyond hieroglyphics and picture-language····petitions ready manufactured in London.' (Quarterly Review, No. 68. 581.)

the speaker, he might pour irresistible contempt on Bacon, Newton, Locke, Butler, and all the mightiest masters of human reason and practical philosophy;—and that the meanest advocate of a system existing in the Western hemisphere, at variance with the first elements of Christianity, might, on the same position, and by borrowing the unbeliever's weapons, darken the last days even of Wilberforce himself by the general abhorrence of mankind.

* * * * * * * *

I cannot close this memoir more satisfactorily, at least to my personal feelings, than by subjoining some detached extracts from the correspondence of a friend, as an illustration and sanction of preceding statements and opinions.

'I congratulate you upon having determined to take so direct a part, at home, in the cause of the Negroes; and especially as I must accuse several of our common friends (some of them such as otherwise I most value, and therefore am most constrained to blame) of indifference. Their apathy implies the strongest case within my knowledge, among good men, where sinister influences have tarnished the brightness of truth, and distorted its symmetry.—Sometimes, amidst the weakness of my own faith, and the indistinctness which, in certain moods of mind, obscures the great doctrines of Christianity, I have had recourse to some undisputed *practical* truth, far above the reach of scepticism; and have said *This must be right!* And then, I have been enabled to descend from the branch to the stem, from the stem to the root; till I could identify the undisputed verity with

Jesus Christ as its sure foundation. This I owe to the Anti-Slavery cause. I have listened to its pleadings, till the deep under-tone of Revelation was heard, '*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*' The Gospel itself does not stand upon firmer evidence than these admonitions —nay, such precepts are among the strongest of its supports. To attack, or to depreciate, or in any way to extenuate the value, of such a work of mercy as the emancipation of our slaves, is, in its degree, to injure and insult Christianity. In this connection I am compelled to own, that some great men, both lay and clerical, have said worse things of the religion of Jesus, than have been uttered by Gibbon, Helvetius, and Voltaire; or even by the vulgarian infidels of our own times. At least, I am not aware that any of these scoffers ever attempted to insinuate that Christianity does not abhor and execrate slavery root and branch.

'It is to me a most unaccountable thing, that the Abolitionists have been accused of something like opposition to Government—and in a country whose highest blessings, political and religious, have resulted from, and are maintained by, the freedom of public opinion! As Christians, we are bound to submit where crimes are not enjoined upon us; but our moral sense is not to be annihilated, if public sanction is given to unhallowed gain, and the hands of our fellow-subjects allowed to be stained by innocent blood.—What would our government and our country do, if 50,000 Blacks had enslaved 800,000 Whites; and if the children of our nobles and leading merchants could be stolen

and sold, without any appeal to the Court of Chancery? Would there be any pretexts for delay? Would the daughters of Albion be allowed to be flogged naked in the field, three years longer, to see what their Black masters would enact? What shore, of what island of White captives, would not long since have re-echoed with the thunders of British cannon? What fortress would not have been a second Algiers? How many of all the 50,000 masters, supposing they had fought it out, would have existed at this moment? —Then, at home, what high tones of feeling and principle in the assemblies of the Legislature; what unanimity, and approbation of the measures of Government, throughout the provinces; what splendid subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund; what votes of thanks, pensions, and peerages to the men who led our armies to battle and victory; what freedoms of the City and dinners at Guildhall; what exultation in the progress of *a just and necessary war;* and what thanksgiving-days on its success, and conclusion!—But where would be the only thing which now exists in the minds of many—namely, sympathy with the 50,000 slave-holders?

'Is this declamation? is it more than common sense, and common principle, barely insisting upon an equitable distribution of rights among the great family of mankind; no members of which have forfeited the same claims to protection and assistance, which you and I possess, at this moment, under the British Crown?

'I hope you will bring into juxta-position the falsehoods and contradictions of certain of the colonial ad-

vocates—such as, the happiness of men who cannot be prevailed upon to work without a lash; and the misery of England, where no lash is needed. I need not mention the recent forgery of Boyer's proclamation.—Indeed, the West Indians are not *witnesses in a fair cause;* but prisoners at the bar of moral feeling. Alas, that any court of British law should be too much biassed for the trial!

'The tax levied upon this country to keep up the system; the selection of the Mauritius, the only slave island in the East, as an object of indulgence, &c. &c. &c.—But I should weary you even with a list of the direct and collateral topics connected with this interminable affair.

'With regard to yourself: whatever you write, and allow to appear before the public, you had better prepare, both yourself and your adventurous Editor, for a storm. All your delicacy and reserve, or all your indelicacy and roughness, will be equally useless, as a shield from derision or resentment. When I say *you*, I include all who unequivocally take the same side, even in *remotis rupibus—Cornubiæ*.—However, your danger lies, not in making unsupported charges, but in being afraid of telling all you know; and, afterwards, in shrinking from what you really do tell. Moral cowardice sadly blemishes the purest efforts made by us feeble and inconsistent mortals. I speak from experience, both of my own indecision of character, and of the effects of the sneers.—I am ashamed to make the confession—by which some of my neighbours have endeavoured to refute my own pleas for your clients. The pleader may quail a little under a laugh, or a shy

look, while perfectly conscious that his pleas defy the sophistry, and the logic too, of the whole world of his opponents.

'I doubt not that the cause we are both striving to forward will one day be successful. Let us be mindful, whatever we do, to derive strength from a Higher Source than ourselves. Remember *who* is the refuge of the oppressed. I was at church yesterday morning (the 16th), when, in the course of the Psalms, occurred this apposite passage, *Oh let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee; according to the greatness of Thy power preserve Thou those that are appointed to die!* I thought how often this petition has been abused to purposes of false compassion towards felons at home, who were only receiving the due reward of their deeds; while *these*—the innocent children of Africa—had done nothing amiss, in the usual sense of the term; yet who among our congregations remember *their* bonds as bound with them! Of all men, members of our Established Church are under an obligation, imposed by their own prayers, to pity and succour the miserable—as in the well-known clauses in the Litany, and elsewhere, in our service. But this allusion awakens most painful and bitter reflections!

'You know, I believe, that, as far as I speculate on the Prophecies, and muse on the spiritual barrenness of this country—watching the cloud which seems to be gathering over the sister kingdom—then diverted to another quarter of the horizon, towards the Continent—hearing, as I think, the low murmurs of distant thunders—wondering, and fearing, where the tempest may discharge its terrors, carrying in its very skirts

desolation and misery——as far as I venture to calculate upon coming events, I see chastisement preparing for my guilty country. And will any man, of a serious mind, persuade either himself or others, that no share of the punishment will fall upon such as are abettors of the slave system—as having a power to relieve the wretched, yet witholding its exercise; and impeding the free course of religion, while we pray that *His way may be known upon earth, and His saving health among all nations!*

'With regard to your own share in this criminal system, you know that I always condemned you; and that, so far, I differed in opinion from some of our mutual friends, who, if they did not entirely justify your conduct, did not well see how you could have extricated yourself sooner than you did from the management of the Lagoon estate. At the same time, I fully allow, that instrumentally you communicated such blessings as your Christian slaves will never be able to appreciate on this side the grave. You may appropriate, in this view, and with my entire consent, some lines of Cowper—

'Inform his mind; one flash of heavenly day
Would heal his heart, and melt his chains away:
Beauty for ashes is a gift indeed,
And slaves, by truth enlarged, are doubly freed.
Then would he say, submissive at thy feet,
While gratitude and love made service sweet,
My dear deliverer out of hopeless night,
Whose bounty bought me, but to give me light,
I was a bondman on my native plain—
Sin forged, and Ignorance made fast, the chain—

Thy lips have shed instruction as the dew,
Taught me what path to shun, and what pursue.
Farewell my former joys! I sigh no more
For Africa's once-loved, benighted shore:
Serving a benefactor I am free;
At my best home, if not exil'd from thee!'

'One thing is quite certain,—that if you had first been the most remorseless man-stealer on the coast of Africa, and afterwards the most bloody driver in Jamaica, your character would not have weighed an atom either against the truth or the falsehood of the abstract argument. We have all our opinion about the conquests of Mexico and Peru; utterly uninfluenced by any thing which Cortez and Pizarro might have alleged in their own defence, or confessed to their own disgrace.

'The thing lies in a very narrow compass. Either you have told a true story, or a false one. If the former, the objector's mouth is stopped at once. If you are a deceiver, let the objector bring his counter-evidence.'

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.—*page* 3.

Upwards of thirty-three years since, Mr. Edwards—all my quotations from whom refer to his second edition, 1794—said, that the custom of branding was growing into disuse (ii. 130); but the subjoined extracts from recent Gazettes will illustrate the progress, in this relation, of colonial reform.—

'Rowley: marked apparently E O on the breasts, and mark not plain on the shoulders; has a mark of an old sore on the outer part of his left leg, and the second toe of his right foot is lost.——William: marked apparently D B D on left shoulder; has lick marks on his back, and his teeth are filed.——Hardany: has a small scar on his left cheek, blister marks on his back.——Hyslop Lawrence: has lost some of his lower front teeth, scars on shin of his left leg, which is swoln; marked not plain, apparently on both shoulders.——Gift: a Creole, marks of flogging on her back.——Maria: has a mark of a cut on her forehead, lost the use of her right side.——Sarah: marked I B on shoulders, lost the second and third toes of her left foot, and also one of her lower front teeth.——James: marked W R in one, on different parts of his shoulders, a part of the second and fifth toes of his left foot are lost, and has a large scar on the left side of his head.——Spencer: marked M A C on left shoulder; the right little toe is lost, and the small of the left arm is withered and much reduced from its natural size.——Lewis Swaby: marked R B, heart on top, as well as marks of chops on left shoulder.——Grant: marked apparently J G on shoulder, also a cutlass mark.——George: marked T W on right shoulder, and the ball of his left eye is injured.——George: marked R S on right, and I M on left shoulder.——George Reeves: marked P L, diamond between, on the left shoulder.——George James: marked SP or R on left shoulder.——Frank: marked A ML, the ML in one, on shoulders.——Bella: a Creole, her right upper front tooth is lost, and blister marks on her right cheek and temple.——Aaron: has a scar between his eyes and over the left eye-brow.——Thomas: marked apparently R S on

shoulders.——ROBERT: marked W N, diamond between, on right shoulder.——WILLIAM BULLOCK: marked T S, heart on top, on left shoulder ——MARY: marked F B on shoulders, and has several scars on her back.——JOHN EDWARDS: marked N on breasts and shoulders, has a small blotched mark on left jaw, and mark of flogging on his back.——JOHN PHILIPS: marked L H on right, and I C D left shoulder, has a blotched mark on the pit of stomach, a cut mark on the back of his right hand, and two small scars on forehead.——WILLIAM M'COOK: has marks of severe punishment on his shoulders and back.'

These citations from the advertisements in the Jamaica Royal Gazette exhibit, besides the brand-marks, proofs of various other *stigmata* inflicted under the slave system. In one Gazette, of October 7, 1826, occurs an advertisement describing, as a run-away, a female slave marked NELSON *on her breasts*, and I O on her right shoulder!

II.—*page* 4.

A full account of the practice of *Obeah* may be found in Edwards (ii. 90—101); and in Stewart, 276.—It is the African form of the sorcery which, under various names, has been found in all unenlightened nations; and is essentially the same with the influence possessed by the priesthood in countries under the absolute dominion of the Roman-Catholic superstition. Traces of Protestant *obi* are also sufficiently discoverable in the blind confidence sometimes reposed in the *opus operatum* of the Christian sacraments; especially in the administration of the Eucharist to sick persons, and to felons before their execution.

I am afraid that the subjoined statement is also a direct illustration of Obeah practice under the forms of Christianity. It appears that the Rev. G. W. Bridges had represented (1823) his pastoral success as follows: 'During my residence in the parish, I have actually baptized 9,413 slaves.' Now, when he stated this, he had been only two or three years Rector of Manchester; in which no church had been opened till after his appointment.—'Nothing,' says Mr. Barham, himself a large West-India proprietor, 'could be easier than to introduce Christianity in *name*; as, for the most insignificant reward the Negroes would universally accept baptism.'—Sir George Rose, another large proprietor, states, that, with respect to baptism, we ought to put it entirely out of our calculation, where it has not been attended by Christian instruction, and the amendment of the neophyte. On the largest and best of his estates in Jamaica, his slaves, though they had been baptized, he found to be 'UTTERLY without religion, ignorant, disorderly, and dishonest.'

Various clerical authorities might be adduced to the same effect.—And yet, in the face of these testimonies, what is it, in the case of Mr. Bridges, which we are called to contemplate? He was presented to a parish, the ecclesiastical duties of which he had to perform singly—or perhaps with the aid of a curate, though that no where appears. Besides its population of White and free Coloured inhabitants, which had hitherto occupied almost exclusively the pastoral care of West-Indian incumbents, it contained about 16,000 slaves. In less than three years he reports, that of these he has actually baptized 9,413. If we assume these 9,413 to have been also actually converted from Paganism to Christianity, or even to have been taught enough of the fundamental truths of the Gospel to understand the engagements into which they entered, we have here a miracle as great as was exhibited on the Day of Pentecost. And if they were not converted to Christianity, or if they did not understand the nature of the solemn vow and covenant they were called to make, what a mockery of religion, what a prostitution of the sacred initiatory rite of baptism, is here made the subject of boast! When he sprinkled them with water, 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and received them 'into the congregation of Christ's flock,' did he make them promise 'to renounce the carnal desires of the flesh;' and 'to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of their life?' If he did, we would ask again, whether these engagements, with respect to almost all his neophytes, were not words without a meaning? How many of his 9,413 converts were actually living at the time, and have continued since to live, in a state of lawless concubinage, indulging, day by day, without restraint, instead of renouncing, 'the carnal desires of the flesh?' Out of 16,000 slaves, by his own account, he had married only 187 couples. In what state were all the rest of those persons living, whom he pronounced, on their baptism, to 'be regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's church,' and for whom he solemnly gave 'thanks to Almighty God,' as such—praying too 'that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning?' Does such a transaction require a comment? Then, as to keeping God's Commandments, what shall we say to the Fourth? Has the Sunday ceased to be the market-day, or a day of labour, to these baptized Negroes? And when they come really to understand the requisitions of the Christian covenant, the repentance, faith, and new obedience, which our Church requires of all adults before they are admitted to baptism, what must they think of the propriety of their admission to that rite?

III.—*page* 13.

This quite agrees with Ramsay's account (52—4) of the then treatment of slaves in the French colonies. 'Missionaries are appointed, for the purpose of training them up to a certain degree of religious knowledge; and ample estates or funds are allotted for the maintenance of ecclesiastics. The master is obliged to acquaint the governor or intendant, within eight days, of every African whom he has purchased, that a missionary may be assigned to instruct him.—Every slave has a claim to a certain allowance of food and clothing, which is not to be diminished by his master, under pretence of having given him time to work for himself.—On ill treatment, he is directed to apply to the king's attorney, who is obliged to prosecute the master.—If a slave be rendered unserviceable through age, hurts, or disease, or be turned adrift by his master, he is to be placed, at the master's expense, in the public hospital.—Marriage is also held sacred, and is solemnized by a priest. Care is taken to marry them young on the same plantation.—They are also attached to the soil, and cannot be drawn off to pay debts, or be sold separate from it.—They use private prayer. The field Negroes begin and leave off work with prayer; the black overseer officiating as priest.' (59, 61.)—Much more to the same effect may be be found in my author.—The evening devotions of the slaves in the French islands are described by an ear-witness, who visited the colonies in 1807.—'Voyage to the West Indies, &c. by John Augustine Waller, R. N.' 1820. 91, 92.

IV.—*page* 17.

The amount of the sums collected for our religious and philanthropic societies in 1825–6, was 494,039*l.* 16s. 11d. But it is painful to observe, how slender a portion of this half million is gathered in behalf of Anti-Slavery institutions!—It is, however, more painful to reflect upon the waste of blood, and of all national resources, during the last half century, in supporting a guilty system. On this point, it has been emphatically asked, 'Who is to repay the English nation for the treasure which has been expended in governing and defending the colonies? If we had made Jamaica what we have made Massachusetts, if we had raised up in Guiana a population like that of New York, we should indeed have been repaid. But of such a result, under the present system, there is no hope. It is not improbable that some who are now alive may see the last Negro disappear from

ur Trans-atlantic possessions. After having squandered a sum hich, if judiciously employed, might have called into existence great, rich, and enlightened people, which might have spread ur arts, our laws, and our language from the banks of the Saragnon to the Mexican sea, we shall again leave our territories deserts as we found them, without one memorial to prove hat a civilized man ever set foot on their shores.'—Edin. Rev. OC. 422.

V.—*page* 18.

This reminds me of Bryan Edwards's memorable speech in ur House of Assembly:—'I am persuaded that Mr. Wilberforce has been very rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are generally procured. The intelligence I have collected from my own Negroes abundantly confirms Mr. Wilberforce's account; and I have not the smallest doubt, that in Africa the effects of this trade are precisely such as he represents them to be. The whole, or the greater part, of that immense continent, is a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness, in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other. That this scene of oppression, fraud, treachery, and blood, if not originally occasioned, is, in part, I will not say wholly, upheld by the Slave Trade, I dare not dispute. Every man in the sugar islands may be convinced that it is so, who will inquire of any African Negroes on their first arrival concerning the circumstances of their captivity. The assertion that a great many of these are criminals and convicts, is mockery and insult!'—Cited by Lord Grenville, in the debate in the House of Lords, June 24, 1806.

VI.—*page* 27.

But what is the character of the posterity of Shem, to go no farther then the Hindoos? Whoever is at all acquainted with this subject, 'will find himself rather encumbered with evidence of the treachery of the natives, than distressed by the want of it. The works of Orme, Holwell, Dow, Maurice, Scrafton, &c. produce it in every page. Treaties solemnly ratified, while other treaties are contracting with an opposite power; articles of capitulation violated by the murders of the besiegers, or the besieged; truces broken at the moment of the greatest confidence; drugged bowls and poisoned meats; parchments sealed with blood, and contracts cut to pieces by the dagger:—these are circumstances every moment exemplified in the history of

Hindostan.' (Cunningham's Christianity in India, 1808. 20.) See also Fuller's Apology for Christian Missions. Works; 1824. iii. 279, 80.

I would ask, in this place, whether the most cruel superstitions of Africa afford a parallel to the pilgrimage to Juggernaut, with all its bloody consequences; or to the burning alive of widows on funeral piles; or—shall I add?—to the sanguinary sacrifices, under the Druids, by the posterity of Japhet, and in the mother country of the colonies!—And what discoveries will an inquirer make, who searches into the abominations of Persia, China, and the more *civilized* divisions of the Asiatic world, including Polynesia? Must we confine the universal apostasy of mankind to the aborigines of Africa? and find among them more foul criminality than is practised in the capitals of their Most Catholic and Christian Majesties,—in the *religious houses* of Madrid, and in the Palais Royale of Paris?

VII.—*page* 29.

Ramsay, 19.—Eight-and-thirty years since, the present Bishop (Burgess) of Salisbury refuted, by anticipation, the arguments now current on the consistency of slavery with the Scriptures. His Lordship's publication is extremely scarce. It is entitled, 'Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, upon Grounds of natural, religious, and political Duty;' and was written (1789) in answer to some Mr. Harris, who talked of the 'relative duties of master and slave.'—'Reciprocal duties!' exclaims the Bishop; 'reciprocal duties!... To have an adequate sense of the propriety of these terms, we must forget the humane provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as the liberal indulgence of Roman slavery, and think only of *West-India slavery!* of unlimited, uncompensated, brutal slavery; and then judge what *reciprocity* there can be between absolute authority, and absolute subjection.—A slave is a non-entity in civil society. Law and slavery are contradictory terms.'—A digest of his work may be found in the Christ. Obs. 1824. 620—640.

In the year preceding the appearance of the Bishop's Considerations, Cowper thus writes:—'Laws will, I suppose, be enacted for the more humane treatment of the Negroes; but who shall see to the execution of them? The Planters will not, and the Negroes cannot. In fact, we know that laws of this tendency have not been wanting, enacted even amongst themselves; but there has been always a want of prosecutors or righteous judges, deficiencies which will not be very easily supplied. The newspapers have lately told us, that these merciful

masters have, on this occasion, been occupied in passing ordinances, by which the lives and limbs of their slaves are to be secured from wanton cruelty hereafter. But who does not immediately detect the artifice, or can give them a moment's credit for any thing more than a design, by this shew of lenity, to avert the storm which they think hangs over them? On the whole, I fear there is reason to wish, for the honour of England, that the nuisance had never been troubled; lest we eventually make ourselves justly chargeable with the whole offence by not removing it. The enormity cannot be palliated: we can no longer plead that we were not aware of it, or that our attention was otherwise engaged; and shall be inexcusable, therefore, ourselves, if we leave the least part of it unredressed. Such arguments as Pharaoh might have used, to justify his destruction of the Israelites, substituting sugar for bricks, ('Ye are idle; ye are idle,') may lie ready for our use also; but I think we can find no better.'

To this, I add what Mr. Burke said about the same period: 'I have seen what has been done by the West-India Assemblies. It is arrant trifling. They have done little; and what they have done is good for nothing; for it is totally destitute of an executory principle.'—Letter to Mr. Dundas (1792) on the Slave Codes.

VIII.—*page* 76.

I now take leave to call what the colonial party will of course disown as an exceptionable class of witnesses; beginning with Ramsay, who published his deposition about ten years before the appearance of Mr. Edwards's work. He writes,—'Inconceivable are the miseries to which in cases of sickness the slaves are subjected. The necessaries, when any are allotted for the sick (and Heaven knows, on the best plantations they are trivial enough!) are devoured as a morsel, by that legion of harlots and their children with which the plantation abounds.—When a female slave has become the new object of the manager's attachment, she becomes an object of envy to those that have gone before her; and must think herself lucky, if she pays not with her life the forfeit of her attractions. In short, shameless profligacy usurps the place of decency; and headlong unthinking lust alone produces all the wasting effects of dishonesty, cruelty, and oppression.'—'The greatest trouble arises from the libidinous behaviour of overseers.' (Ramsay 84, 163. See also 239; for statements far too gross to be copied.)

My author's allusion to plantation infirmaries reminds me of Mr. Bickell's notice on this point; who writes:—'Of the great

care taken of the slaves in sickness, and of the boasted and frequent attendance of the medical men on the different properties, I have never seen any very flattering specimens, though I have been on a great many plantations, and have seen plenty of doctors. Their hot-houses, or hospitals, are, generally speaking, filthy receptacles; they are very happily styled hot-houses, for they are hot enough; as the hospital is, on most estates, a confined room, very often an earthen floor: in this is a platform of boards, raised two or three feet high, like the soldier's guard-bed, on which the sick lie down in their own clothes, covered sometimes with a blanket, and sometimes not: on some large estates, they have a superior kind of hospital, on a first floor, with better accommodations. The hot-house is often the place where the Negroes are also confined in the stocks; so that it is both hospital and gaol.'

'There is on every estate what the Negroes call a hot-house, or hospital, which a medical practitioner is expected to visit once or twice a week. The Negroes have generally a great dislike to being shut up in this hot-house, where they are separated from the kindness of their friends; and would prefer being in their own houses, even though in a miserable state.' (Cooper, 27.)

The same writer (see 'Facts, &c. by Thomas Cooper,' 1824. 8, 35) asserts:—'The state of morals is as bad as can well be imagined. With scarcely any exception, all the Whites, whether residing on the plantations or otherwise, live in a state of open and avowed concubinage. The general profligacy, in this respect, is perfectly notorious and undisguised. The morals of nineteen out of twenty White men are ruined before they have been a month in the island. They get into habits of debauchery, and every idea of religion vanishes.—Even the clergy in Jamaica, in some instances, fall into this horrid impurity of manners; and that too, without being expelled from their situations in the church.—Serious attention to religion is out of the question. The man is fallen into the condition of an animal. Persons who are received into the best society of the place speak of having been drunk, and of getting drunk, without apparently feeling any sense of shame.—What can we expect of an inexperienced half-educated youth of eighteen, placed in the way of such tremendous temptations? Every day the most indecent sights are brought before his eyes, and the most unhallowed sounds rung in his ears.'—'It is a dreadful consideration, that all the females, out of a population of nearly 350,000 souls, should become the instruments of licentious gratification. Black as this representation is, it is not blacker than I have often heard of West-India society by old standards in Jamaica; and it appears to me to be nothing more than what might be expected to flow naturally from the slave system.'

'It is usual, in these colonies,' says Dr. Pinckard, 'for a

person to take a Negro, or more frequently a Mulatto or *Mestee* woman, as housekeeper and companion; and if he have children by her, and cannot afford, or does not choose, to be at the expense of sending them to Europe to be educated, he derives no dishonour from breeding up the sons as mechanics, and giving out the daughters in keeping to his friends; and so commonly is this practice established, that no feelings of remorse seem to attach to it: on the contrary, it is deemed the best provision the parent can make for his daughter.'

'Truly distressing,' says Mr. Bickell, 'to a Christian mind is it, to witness the demoralizing effects brought on the White part of the population; nearly the whole of whom live in a state of opened and acknowledged, and even boasted, fornication. It is a well-known and notorious fact, that very few of the White men in the West Indies marry, except a few professional men, and some few merchants in the towns; and here and there, in the country, a proprietor or large attorney. Most of the merchants and shopkeepers in the towns, and the whole of the deputy planters (namely, overseers) in all parts of the country, have what is called a housekeeper, who is their concubine or mistress, and is generally a free woman of Colour; but the book-keepers, who are too poor and too dependent to have any kind of establishment, generally take some Mulatto or Black female slave, from the estate where they are employed; or live in a more general state of licentiousness.—This is so very common a vice, and so far from being accounted scandalous, that it is looked upon by every person as a matter of course; and if a newly-arrived young man happens to have brought a few moral ideas with him from Great Britain, he is soon deprived of them by taunt and ridicule, and is, in a short time, unblushingly amalgamated into the common mass of hardened and barefaced licentiousness. This does not depreciate the privileged White men even in the eyes of most Creole White ladies; for they often pay visits to the mistress of a relative, and fondle and caress the little ones: nay, I have known some married ladies pay visits to the kept mistresses of rich men, who were not relatives, though they would not look upon a more respectable woman of the same colour, who might be married to a Brown man.—What a horrible picture is this! In Jamaica alone, there are seven or eight thousand White men; nearly the whole of whom live in this wicked state, in defiance of the commands of God, and in spite of the examples and precepts inculcated upon their minds in the mother country.' (104—6.)

Mr. Newton also tells us, that a parallel to all this enormity existed, as one of the many evils attendant on the middle passage:—'When the women are taken on board a ship, naked, trembling, terrified; they are often exposed to the wanton rudeness of White savages. The poor creatures cannot understand

the language they hear; but the looks and manners of the speakers are sufficiently intelligible. In imagination, the jury is divided on the spot; and only reserved till opportunity offers. Where resistance or refusal would be utterly in vain even the solicitation of consent is seldom thought of. But I forbear. This is not a subject for declamation. (vi. 534.)

The wide-wasting wickedness here described was unknown among the pagans of ancient Greece; for, by the Athenian law, female slaves could demand an exchange of masters, if any attempt had been made on their chastity. (Ramsay, 22.)

IX.—*page* 82.

'The Religious Instruction of the Slaves in the West-India Colonies, advocated and defended, &c. &c. By Richard Watson.' 1824. 7, 8.

In the Maroon war (1795-6), the slaves 'remained faithful and peaceable; and their masters owe them an incalculable debt of gratitude for their fidelity. No symptoms of disobedience appeared; and a solitary White man, left in charge of a plantation, while his brother planters were performing the duty of soldiers, slept in safety among two, three, or four hundred slaves.' (Stewart, 15.)—'The Negroes are patient, cheerful, and commonly submissive; capable of grateful attachments, where uniformly well treated; and generally affectionate towards their friends, kindred, and offspring.'—'During the ambuscade attack of the Maroons on Lieutenant-Colonel Sandford's party, a gentleman's Negro servant, being close to his master, and observing a Maroon's piece levelled at him, he instantly threw himself between him and the danger, and received the shot in his body.' (Stewart, 249, 254.)——'The Negroes have a natural shrewdness and genius, susceptible of culture and improvement.'—'They often express, in their own way, a wonderfully acute perception of things.'—'There cannot be a doubt but that, by the culture of education, they are capable of the higher attainments of the mind.'—'Touissant L'Ouverture, an uneducated slave, acquitted himself, as a general and statesman, in a manner that astonished and confounded those who maintained that Negroes were incapable of intellectual improvement.' (Stewart, 256, 257, 265.)

These are only *specimens* of the justice done to the despised Africans by a colonial writer. Evidence to the same effect, from Golberry, Mungo Parke (whose Travels were edited by Bryan Edwards), Sir James Craig, Barrow, and others, may be found in Wilberforce's Letter, 64–70, &c. and in the Appendix 362–370, 372–376, et seq.—Let the sceptical reader also consult

the elaborate and satisfactory dissertations of Ramsay on the natural capacity of slaves; with his refutation of Hume, and the comparative anatomists; in the fourth chapter of his 'Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves;' published in 1784. This is now a scarce book. It was the result of about twenty years' experience in the colonies, and above fourteen years' particular application to the subject; and was originally drawn up in consequence of a letter to its author, from Lady Middleton (of the Gambier family), wife of Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham.

On the capacities of Africans, and in confirmation of Mr. Watson, see the late Dr. Mason Good's 'Book of Nature,' 1826. ii. 109–112.

X.—*page* 90.

On the subject of the separation of families, the reader's attention is requested to the following statement.—

In the Parliamentary Papers of May 9, 1826, is contained a return of forty-four persons escheated to the Crown, in the island of Barbadoes, from 1821 to 1825, inclusive, which discloses these particulars:—

A Negro, of the name of John Thomas Atherley, had purchased his own freedom, and had also succeeded in redeeming his wife and four children from slavery, by the fruits of his own industry; when he died. Though he had been able to pay their owner the price of their manumission, he had not been able, before his death, to pay the enormous tax, which, in Barbadoes, was imposed on manumissions; and he had omitted to make a will. His wife and children, therefore, were regarded as his own slaves; and as such, he having no *legal* heirs, were escheated to the Crown. And they would infallibly have been sold for the benefit of the Crown, but for the interposition of a benevolent individual, who made such representations, on the subject to his Majesty's Government at home, as produced at first a suspension of their sale, and afterwards their entire liberation. These poor creatures, however, after all their fears and sufferings, were made to pay the heavy expenses attending the cession of their liberty, as well as *the finding of his Majesty's title* to them. Is it possible to conceive a more cruel case than this would have been, under the operation of the laws of Barbadoes, but for the intervention of the Government?—There occurs one other case of manumission, by an order of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury; and in the case of eighteen more, their fate is suspended till his Majesty's pleasure shall be taken. Surely it cannot be a matter of doubt what that plea-

sure will be.—All, however, of these escheats have not been so fortunate as to have their case made known to the Government; and the following statement of the sales of individuals, *for the benefit of his Majesty*, will be read with pain and disgust by every loyal mind.

On the 7th of August, 1823, nineteen individuals became escheats of the Crown; and in eleven days from that time—namely, on the 18th of August, 1823—they were all sold by public auction, with the exception of two, who effected their escape; and the net proceeds of their sale were paid into the Treasury of Great Britain. The transaction, bad enough in itself, will be in no small degree aggravated, when we consider all the circumstances of it, and especially the cruel separation of families which was sanctioned by the agents of the Crown. The following are the particulars of this opprobrious sale, as they are given under the official signature of 'Lionel Parke, Receiver-General of his Majesty's Casual Revenue.' Then follows a list of seventeen of either sex, and all ages, with the prices at which they were severally sold—as, for example, Lubbah, wife of Abel, and mother of his children, to Henry Tudor, for 38*l.*; Thomas, son of Abel and Lubbah, to H. Mozeley, for 51*l.*—The price at which all the seventeen persons were sold is stated in Barbadoes currency, and amounts to 602*l.*, or about 401*l.* sterling. How much of this money, after passing through the hands of escheaters, receivers, marshals, counsel, attorneys, &c. came into the Royal Treasury of Great Britain, we should be curious to know. It is the price of blood, and we trust will not rest there without inquisition. What is it but a slave trade, more disgraceful than even that of Africa, by which the King of Great Britain has been made to enrich himself, at the rate of 10*l.* or 15*l.* a head if so much, by the sale, into perpetual slavery of seventeen of his liege subjects, whose dearest ties have been burst asunder by the process?

XI.—*page* 100.

I beg particularly to direct the reader's attention to the above extracts, and most especially to the intelligent and luminous statement of Mr. Chaderton. He has expressed, with the utmost precision, the difficulties of the spiritual enterprise in which a *missionary* embarks, the moment he sets foot on a plantation. My own experience, as a private instructor of slaves, perfectly corresponds to his statement. Had I room, I should be glad to insert the testimonies of the Rev. Messrs. Orders os Gittens, Payne, and Hutchins, of Barbadoes; and of Messrc. Jenkins, Bowerbank, and West, of Jamaica. Their evidence may be

examined in Stephen, i. 218–223. Let their communications be compared with the extraordinary report of Mr. Bridges; and the public will at once decide upon the character and effect of the 9,413 baptisms in the parish of Manchester, during the space of about three years!—They will also observe, how utterly inconsistent with the representations of the colonial clergy are the wishes of the Bishop of Jamaica, in respect to his new diocese. Oh that the mantle of Reginald Heber might descend upon his surviving brethren in the insular episcopates!

XII.—*page* 116.

This is Mr. Stephen's account, from personal observation, in the 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' 1802; for which he was accused, in the House of Commons, of falsehood, and enmity to the planters. Yet in 1804 Dr. Collins gave exactly the same report of Negro field-labour; and proposed a reform of the system. Mr. Stephen's statement has repelled every attack for five-and-twenty years. I hope the late Mr. Rose lived to ascertain and acknowledge its fidelity.

Let the reader here recollect Mr. Edwards's concession,—'With every prejudice in its favour, Jamaica must be pronounced to be an unfruitful and laborious country.' (i. 193.) Yet Mr. Stewart says, 'Jamaica is the most highly cultivated and most productive colony in the American archipelago.' (6.) At what a lavish expense, then, of human blood must this transformation have been effected!—'The common mode of holing the ground is frequently attended with great and excessive labour to the Negroes—who work at this business very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily strength.' Edwards, ii. 207 and 210.—'Holing is the most toilsome work on a plantation.' Stewart, 103.

'The gangs,' says Mr. Cooper (16–18, 19), 'always work before the whip. The driver has it always in his hand; and drives the Negroes, men and women without distinction, as he would drive horses in a team.'—'The driver, with his long and heavy whip, inflicts, under the eye of the overseer, the number of lashes he may order; each lash, when the skin is tender, and not rendered callous by repeated punishments, making an incision on the parts exposed to the punishment; and thirty or forty such lashes leaving them in a lacerated and bleeding state. Even those that have become the most callous cannot long resist the force of this terrible instrument, when applied by a skilful hand, but become also raw and bloody; indeed, no strength of skin can withstand its reiterated application. The overseer has no written rules to guide his conduct; nor are the occasions

at all defined on which he may exercise the power of punishment. Its exercise is regulated wholly and solely by his own discretion. The law professes to limit the number of lashes given at one time to thirty-nine; but neither this law, nor any other which professes to protect the slave, can be of much practical benefit to him. The evidence of a thousand slaves would avail nothing to his conviction.'—Mr. Cooper, mentions (21), among other instances of relentless barbarity, that a certain Negro was flogged as severely as he well could bear, and then made to work in the field. During the interval of dinner-time he was regularly placed in the stocks; and in them also was he confined the whole night. When the lacerations produced by the first flogging were sufficiently healed, he was flogged a second time. While the sores were yet unhealed, one of the book-keepers told Mr. C. that maggots had bred in the lacerated flesh. He mentioned this to the attorney, who did not manifest any surprise on hearing it!

'The slaves on the estate,' says Mr. Meabry, 'were constantly attended by drivers with cart or cattle whips, which they were in the habit of using as carmen use their whips on horses;' and occasionally one or more slaves were ordered out of the line of work, laid prostrate on the ground, and received a few lashes (from two or three to ten), for no other offence that he could perceive or ever heard of, but that of being indolent, or lagging at their work, or being late. He saw a few working with iron collars round their necks, connected with each other by a chain. These had been run-aways.—Mr. Meabry's evidence may be found in 'Negro Slavery,' 1824; 4th edit. 66—68. He was book-keeper on Bushy Park estate, in the parish of St. Dorothy's, in 1822.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel hold plantations in Barbadoes under the devise of Colonel Codrington. On this very estate Mr. Coleridge (132) found, in 1825, *a driver!* An extraordinary apology for the retention, by a Christian corporation, of an estate worked under the whip, is offered by Edwards (ii. 36., who says:—'They are induced, from the purest and best motives, to purchase occasionally a certain number of Negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the stock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject, is a state of comparative felicity, &c. &c.'—I doubt whether, in 1793, a single member of the Society had the slightest knowledge of the practice on the Codrington property. It is a question of some importance, how far an association, instituted for the express purpose of diffusing Christianity, is justified in putting into its treasury the fruits of slave labour.—The Society, as might have been supposed, has always been under a cloud. Bishop Porteus made a vain effort, about fifty years ago, to stimulate this corporation to look into the concerns of their trust-estate, in

order to some plan for the general instruction of slaves; but all to no purpose! His attempt was discussed at a committee-meeting, and in four hours rejected. 'Thus,' says the Bishop, 'was a final period put at once to a most interesting and important subject; and the spiritual condition of near half a million of Negro slaves decided in four hours. That the particular plan offered to the Society might stand in need of improvement, and that a better might be substituted in its room, is very probable. I would have given my hearty vote for any wiser plan in preference to my own. It was not the *mode;* it was the measure I had at heart. That no other plan should be adopted or proposed, nor any one effectual measure taken for the conversion and salvation of near 300 slaves, who were the immediate property of a *religious*'—the Bishop's *own* italics—'society, did, I own, a little surprise me.'—Hodgson's Life of Porteus, 1813. 88.——But the very last Report * of this institution is very unsatisfactory. It contains no statement of what has been received from the toil of the Society's slaves, neither of any expenditure in their favour. We find indeed that Messrs. Daniel and Trattle (who are these?) have paid in 3542*l.*; but from what source is not recorded. In the Synopsis of the Society's missionaries, catechists, &c., the stations in Barbadoes are wholly omitted!—There is in the payments an item, 'Paid for a piece of plate voted to Mr. F. Clarke, 101*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*'

I shall close this detail by citing the decisive evidence of Dr. Williamson (ii. 222–225). He writes:—'It cannot be denied that this limit' of punishment to the number of thirty-nine lashes, 'is often out-done; and, by repeatedly punishing offenders, the parts become insensible to the lacerations which tear up the skin. When that barbarous consequence is arrived at, new sources of torture must be found out. Opinions have been given, that it would be well altogether to do away the possession of a large heavy whip from the driver's hands; and whether we consider the frightful sound which reaches our ears every minute in passing through estates by the crack of the lash; or the power with which drivers are provided to exercise punishment; it would be desirable that a weapon of such arbitrary or unjust authority were taken from them. When a Negro seems to be tardy at his work, the driver sounds the lash near him, or lets him feel it, as he thinks proper.—A Negro, subjected to frequent and severe punishment, has an appearance and manner by which he is easily known. If, in a warm day, we pass by a gang, when they are uncovered, it is a reproach to every White man to observe in them the recently lacerated sores; or the deep furrows, which, though healed up, leave the marks of cruel punishment.'

* For 1826.

XIII.—*page* 120.

Mr. Cooper writes (42—47.):—'Mr. Bridges, in his 'Voice from Jamaica,' states, that he has within the last two years *married one hundred and eighty-seven couples of Negro slaves* in his own parish—the parish of Manchester, Jamaica. That he met this number of Negro slaves in the church, or some other place, and read the Marriage Service to them, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, I am not about to question. I will suppose that he was careful not to omit reading the following parts of that service: *Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.* Similar sentiments are expressed in the prayers; and a number of references made to the probability of the parties becoming parents. They are solemnly exhorted to *love, comfort, and honour* each other, and to keep each other in *sickness and health.* After this, they pledge themselves to remain together till *Death* part them; and the woman promises to obey the man.

'Now, I have to ask Mr. Bridges, what reply he would have made, had either of the hundred and eighty-seven couples whom he married, addressed him, at the close of the ceremony, to the following effect, "Sir, is our marriage binding in law? And are we to be as completely protected in our adherence to the marriage vow, as any other of his Majesty's subjects?" Would he answer in the affirmative? If so, then might they reply, "That no one, not even the person whom the law recognises as our master, can, in any way, or on any pretence, part us asunder." Two laws mutually destructive of each other, cannot, in the nature of things, co-exist. If the master retains the power of separating the pair, the marriage tie is, in point of fact, a mere form, and the parties who thought it binding are deceived. The master may not maliciously exercise his power, but the circumstance of its being in his hands, is utterly inconsistent with marriage. The answer to slaves, therefore, ought to be, "Yes, your marriage is binding as long as your master lives, unless he, or his creditors, shall think proper to separate you; or you are inclined to part of your own accord." But if the man has one master, and the woman another, which would be far from improbable, the difficulty would be much increased. If I lived in Jamaica, and had a slave who might marry to one belonging to Mr. Bridges, I should be glad to know whether such person would not be liable to be sold at any time for the payment of my debts, without any regard to Mr. Bridges's slave; were I not to meet, in due time, the demands of my creditors? Would the plea be admitted, were I to urge it, "That man, or that woman, whom

you wish to sell, cannot be removed unless you sell, at the same time, and to the same individual, another slave, belonging to my neighbour; to whom mine is married? 'Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder'—not even the persons to whom I owe money, and refuse to pay it." Again, if the woman should think proper to leave her husband, what redress could he procure? Could he demand her on finding out the place of her retreat? Or, rather, might she not put him at defiance, by simply stating that she wished to be off the bargain? On the other hand, he might serve her the same with perfect impunity; unless, indeed, the overseer chooses to call in the assistance of the driver. Suppose there be any children, and the husband refuses to contribute towards their support; what more can the mother do than get the father a good flogging, and perhaps not even that? The children are claimed by *her master*, who may have no controul over her husband.

'But suppose they retain a proper affection for each other, and a due sense of the nature of the union into which it is supposed they have entered, what will be their feelings when they enter the gang to work, from sun-rise to sun-set, before the lash of the driver? The affectionate husband has there to witness the woman whom he loves, urged on to her task by the cart-whip. She may be thrown down on the ground, her person exposed, and her flesh lacerated before his eyes, and he dares not even attempt to defend her. After this, she may be sent to the stocks, and there confined just as long as the overseer thinks proper, and again flogged in the same cruel and indecent manner. Her crime may be simply that of not giving satisfaction to the driver in doing her work, or of not being in the field in time. Should she escape, for any length of time, the misery we have supposed, her feelings will probably be put on the rack by beholding her husband in the grasp of the tyrant. At any rate, the sound of the whip will be in both their ears all day, and many of their companions will suffer from its incisions. The work must be done, without any regard to this man being a husband, and that woman a wife. Marriage cannot be respected in the gang, and therefore the gang is a most improper place for married people. But it is not only in the character of husband and wife that the poor victims would be here tried, if they were really to marry; they might be parents, and thereby called to see their sons and daughters prostrated on the ground to be belaboured by the cart-whip, and in all other respects treated after the manner of West-Indian slaves. Surely, under such circumstances, marriage would prove a curse, and not a blessing. In Mr. Bridges's parish, slavery must wear a mild form; or I am sure it could never be reconciled with the pure, the enlightened, the exalted institution of marriage.

'But we have not done yet; we must follow the married pair

into their cottage, and inquire whether they are there treated and respected as married people. Every man expects to be master of his own house, and to have the authority of a father over his children: they are his offspring, and it is clearly his duty to bring them up with a view to usefulness and happiness, when they shall come to act for themselves. Now, in order to this, he must have a fair chance in society: no one must assume and exercise absolute authority over his family. But what is the lot of the slave in this respect? Has he the authority of a parent over his children, or the means of making his cottage the scene of domestic love and happiness? His wife, in the first place, is forced from his roof by day-light in the morning, to labour in a promiscuous gang of men and women, under the command of a driver, till dark at night. She has no choice, she cannot obey the wishes of her husband; her body, strength, and time, are the property of another, whom she is compelled, at her peril, to obey. The concerns of her family must be, to her, matters of very inferior moment, compared with the work of her owner. He insists on all the prime of her strength being devoted to his business; it is only after the toils, the indecencies, the insults and miseries of a day spent in the gang, that she can think of doing any thing to promote the comfort of her household. The husband is obliged to submit to the same cruel fate, together with the children, if they are at all able to carry a hoe. Domestic enjoyment is, therefore, I must maintain, totally impossible. Let any married couple imagine themselves placed in similar circumstances, and they will soon see that every prospect of household comfort will vanish away. Surely the idea of uniting people in the silken cords of marriage, who may be sold by auction, any day of their lives, and who are driven to work for another, like cattle in a team, is both absurd and cruel. The law places them in the condition of mere animals, and as such it treats them. When they are spoken of as Negro stock, a correct idea is conveyed to the mind. They have just about as much authority over their children as a cow has over her calf. They may feed them and train them up for the use of the estate; and if they should succeed in getting one of them made a driver, they may think themselves fortunate indeed, for in that case he will be advanced to the highest pitch of honour to which a slave can aspire.

'It is, no doubt, very easy to go through the marriage ceremony with the slaves; but what is the use of a mere form? Remove the auctioneer, the driver, and the master, from the doors of the Negroes, and I will admit that they may marry: till then, Mr. Bridges may keep adding to his list without conferring any benefit, worth mentioning, either on the poor creatures or society. —Even White people, on estates, find it a most difficult thing to marry. The majority of the Planters would refuse to em-

ploy them if they were encumbered with a wife and family *. I do not remember that a single married man lived on any of the estates in that part of the island where I resided. Indeed, the scenes which usually take place on estates are such as must be peculiarly shocking to the female mind, unless it has been inured, by previous custom, to all the vices and atrocities of the slave-system. I have very often heard overseers complain that they have not the chance of other men; they are driven from all good female society; and, as soon as they enter the planting business, feel themselves under the necessity of giving up the idea of ever entering into the conjugal state. And they are certainly to be pitied; though the system which renders this necessary, ought, in proportion, to be abhorred.'

XIV.—*page* 132.

Edwards, ii. 152. See also Ramsay's 'Address to the Inhabitants of St. Christopher's (1775), shewing the Claim of Dependants to the Privilege of the Sabbath.' (132). In the prayer before sermon Mr. Ramsay had inserted a petition for the conversion of slaves. It was deemed so disagreeable a memento, that several White people left off attending Divine worship. He was obliged to omit this prayer, to try and bring them back! (180).—'There is a law in Jamaica, imposing a fine on proprietors or overseers for compelling the Negroes to do certain kinds of labour on the Sabbath; but it is notorious that this law is altogether a dead letter; and that, with respect to their *grounds*, the Negroes not only go of their own accord to work there, as not having sufficient time allowed them otherwise; but, if they are found inattentive, it is a custom to send one of the

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* 'The professional planter, indeed, whether overseer or book-keeper, is in a manner forced, however contrary to his inclinations, to a life of celibacy, unless he is fortunate enough to realize an independency, and at the same time preserve himself from being entangled in less reputable connexions; for, while still dependent, he would, by preferring the more honourable conjugal state, run the risk of bringing difficulty and want on his wife and children; few attorneys being disposed to employ a man with such an *incumbrance*. A Brown woman, with three or four children, would be no material objection; but a wife, with or without a family, is an insuperable one. There may be, a few, but only a few, who think and act otherwise.'—Stewart. 190, 191.

book-keepers on that holy day to see that all the slaves are at work, and to watch them a certain time, that there may not be a want of food.—For putting the mill about (viz. for making sugar) on a Sunday, there is a fine of 100*l.* one half of which, I believe, goes to the informer: but though this is done in defiance of law in almost every, if not every parish in the island, I never heard of an information being laid for that offence; as those planters who do not put their mills about wink at it in others; and no clergyman or other person would venture, I think, to inform, as he would be sure to meet with insult, or some worse injury, for his conscientious interference.—A short time before I left Jamaica, I was in St. Thomas in the East, the most religious parish in the island (Kingston perhaps excepted); and on one of the Sundays I was there, several overseers put their mills about in the afternoon, and the whole or greater part of the gangs were busy at work: but where the mills are not put about, they work so late on most estates on Saturday nights, that the Negroes, and even the Whites, belonging to the boiling-house department, are employed all the forenoon of the Sabbath, potting sugars, &c.; so that they are prevented from going to church.—I will record one instance of this, as coming more particularly within my own knowledge: it was on a large estate in the parish of St. David, belonging to a gentleman who wishes (as I have been informed) to afford his people every facility that they may attend to religious duties, and encourages them to go to church as often as possible. I had been staying a week with the rector of the parish, and on my return to Kingston, on a Monday morning, called with a friend at Albion, the estate alluded to: it was about breakfast time, and the head book-keeper invited us to breakfast. We remarked to rather a fine young Irishman, who had been only a few months in the country, that we had not seen him or any of the others at church yesterday: he replied, that he used to attend regularly in his own country, but having been generally engaged of a Sunday morning, since he came upon that property, he had not been able to attend church; and that yesterday, in particular, he was in the boiling-house till twelve o'clock, superintending the Negroes whilst they were potting sugars, as the mill had been kept about late on Saturday night. The young man seemed to have a sense of religion, and spoke with regret of his inability to attend a place of worship. On this estate there were six or seven White men, and four or five hundred Negroes, scarcely any of whom attended the parish church, which was only about three miles distant, and the rector of which parish was most anxious to instruct those who would attend.

'The goodness of the Almighty in ordaining every seventh day a day of rest from labour, was of the greatest consequence to man, even in a temporal point of view, as most of the human race

are labourers; for, by ceasing from work on that day, man is cheered and invigorated, and goes to his labour or business the following morning with a willing mind, and his sinews full of strength. That Omniscient eye which looks into futurity, foresaw that, when men multiplied upon the earth, the powerful would oppress the weak, and that the rich would require perpetual labour from the poor; that this fatigue of the body would weigh down the soul, and destroy, or very much diminish, the powers of the mind: he therefore commanded the Sabbath to be kept holy.—By the Israelites the seventh day was very strictly kept, and the sabbath-breaker was commanded to be stoned to death. The Ten Commandments have lost none of their force under the Christian dispensation; and the Sabbath has been kept by most Christians, in all ages of the church of Christ; yet in the West-Indian colonies, planted by Christian nations, and particularly in Jamaica, the largest colony of highly favoured Britain, the Sabbath is worse kept than by Turks themselves. It is not enough that most of the slaves must work in their grounds a part of that holy day; but, to add to the abomination, a market must be kept also on the Sunday, for the sale of provisions, vegetables, fruit, &c. It is the only market-day which the slaves have; and, instead of worshipping their God, they are either cultivating their portions of land to preserve life, or trudging like mules with heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles to a market, to sell the little surplus of their provision grounds, or to barter it for a little salt fish to season their poor meals; or, what is much worse, to spend, very often, the value in new destructive rum, which intoxicates them, and drowns, for a short time, the reflection that they are slaves.—I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the first time, in Kingston, in the month of August 1819: it was on a Sunday, and I had to pass by the Negro market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and colours, but principally Negroes, were busily employed in all kinds of traffic in the open streets. Here were Jews with shops and standings as at a fair, selling old and new clothes, trinkets, and small wares, at cent. per cent. to adorn the Negro person;—there were low Frenchmen and Spaniards, and people of Colour, in petty shops and with stalls; some selling their bad rum, gin, tobacco, &c.; others, salt provisions, and small articles of dress; and many of them bartering with the slave, or purchasing his surplus provisions to retail again;—poor free people and servants also, from all parts of the city, to purchase vegetables, &c. for the following week. The different noises and barbarous tongues recalled the confusion of Babel; but the drunkenness of some, with the imprecations and obscenities of others, put one in mind rather of a pandemonium, or residence of devils.' (Bickell, 64–7, 71,2.)

XV.—*page* 134.

These should rather be called the triumphs of cruelty and despotism!—In another part of his work Edwards describes a *prospect* very different from scenes of enchantment; namely—and I cite his very words—'the contemplation of human nature in its most debased and abject state; the sad prospect of 450,000'—since much increased—'reasonable beings (in the English islands only) in a state of barbarity and slavery; of whom—I will not say the major part, but—great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country and dearest connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and sorrow!' (ii. 34.)—Elsewhere he writes: 'Slavery degrades and corrupts the mind in a deplorable manner.'—'So degrading is the nature of slavery, that fortitude of mind is lost as free agency is restrained. To the same cause probably must be imputed the slave's propensity to conceal or violate the truth. Cowardice and dissimulation have been the properties of slavery in all ages. It is a situation that necessarily suppresses many of the best affections of the human heart.—If it call forth any latent virtues, they are those of sympathy and compassion towards persons in the same condition of life: and accordingly we find that the Negroes in general are strongly attached to their countrymen; but, above all, to such as come in the same ship with them from Africa. This is a striking circumstance: the term *shipmate* is understood among them as signifying a relationship of the most endearing nature; perhaps as recalling the time when the sufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal sympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.' (ii. 62–78.)

Such are the direct acknowledgments, on the part of the most eminent apologist of the colonial system, of its necessary effects! —See also Stewart, 169–173, 181, &c. &c.

XVI.—*page* 138.

'Jobbers,' says Mr. Cooper, 'very frequently consist of slaves belonging to different masters, or mistresses: one has a dozen, another seven or eight, and another less; but they are all united under one superintendant, and so form a regular gang. This superintendant is generally the person to whom the greater number belongs, and he has a commission on the labour of the rest, for his trouble in overlooking them. His driver usually

takes the whip, and urges on the whole to the performance of their task, he himself visiting them once or twice in the course of the day. Digging cane-holes, making and repairing roads, and such like employment, commonly falls to their lot. They may be compared to hack-horses, hired by the planter, to perform the most laborious part of the work of the estate;—work which he finds it politic not to extort from his own animals. Sometimes they are employed near home, which they deem particularly advantageous; at others, sent to a distance of six or seven miles, or more. When this is the case, the inconvenience which they suffer is great. They are deprived of the few comforts which their own houses would afford them, and exposed to confined and unwholesome lodging at night. In some instances, the overseer allows them to occupy a part of the sugar manufactory; and the estate's Negroes will, not unfrequently, accommodate a few. But the usual way is to make a hut, consisting of one long room, in which men and women, boys and girls, are expected to find every convenience by night as well as by day. To avoid these hardships, some return home once or twice in the week after the day's work is done; thereby adding greatly to their fatigue; risking, and it is said often losing, their health, and sometimes even their lives. Their children are much worse off than the children of others, and they are in peculiar danger of being sold to accommodate the circumstances of their owners. An industrious jobber will expect to make a little fortune out of the labour of his slaves; after which, the common plan is to sell the whole gang, and retire to this country. The great sugar planters are generally the purchasers; by which means they contrive to keep up the numbers on their estates. Many of the slaves, however, by the time they fall into the hands of these new masters, are found to be worn out, not so much by age, as by previous hard work and misusage. Deaths, in consequence, become numerous, and the only resource is to buy another gang. Before the abolition of the Slave Trade, persons with a small capital could go to market and purchase one or two Negroes at a time, and so by degrees get a pretty good gang. Now, all opportunities of this kind are cut off; and those who formerly looked to them as so many sources of wealth, have to depend almost entirely on their *own* earnings. This they deem a hardship, and are therefore found amongst the foremost of such as visit, with all the vengeance of words, those whose exertions contributed, so eminently, to the destruction of that abominable trade, which once disgraced the British navy and the British name.—A jobber is not necessarily a hard master; it may be said in his case, as well as in that of the sugar planter, that it is his interest to take care of his slaves. But he has not, in a thousand instances, the means of doing it; he cannot, without offending his employers, avoid exposing the poor creatures to

the hardships just mentioned: the evils in most cases arise from the system, and ought to be regarded as so many reasons for its amelioration and ultimate abolition. A jobber is every body's servant, and his slaves are in consequence exposed to new difficulties as often as they change places of work. They have so many to please, that their minds are kept in almost a perpetual state of irritation. Some few individuals, who have a Negro or two whom they do not want to employ themselves, allow them to go out to work on their own account, with an understanding that they are to bring home to their owner, on a Saturday night, about ten or twelve shillings currency. This plan is much approved of by the slaves, and it obviously answers the purpose of the master. He gets his profit without any trouble, and the slave is in a manner free, by being left to choose his own work and the time for doing it, provided he makes his payments good with his master. I knew a Brown man who was allowed to act on this plan; and he was so much superior to the other slaves in his appearance, that for some time I took him to be a person of free condition.'

The following is Stewart's account of the slaves belonging to small settlers and jobbers (234, 235):—'The slaves belonging to the smaller settlers, and what are called jobbers, are not in general so comfortably situated as those belonging to the estates. This is in part owing to the situation and circumstances of the masters. They do not, in common, possess the means of rendering their slaves so comfortable as the slaves on the plantations; and the poorer and more ignorant are too apt to overwork them, and otherwise ill use them. Many of the jobbers living in remote parts of the interior, their slaves have often a considerable distance to travel, once a week, to the places where they are to work; and are deprived, while they remain so far from home, of all the comforts and conveniences of their dwellings. They are also usually employed in the hardest and most disagreeable work of the plantations; it being the policy of those who employ them to save their own slaves as much as possible from such work. The poor jobbing slave, thus often deprived of the comforts of a home, has only to depend on the humanity of an overseer, or the kindness of an acquaintance, for a shelter at night and from the inclemency of the weather.'

'Jobbing slaves,' says Mr. Bickell, 'work very hard; and before sugars were depressed in price, three or four years since, their masters were paid ten pounds an acre for digging cane-holes, when each Negro could earn them a dollar a day; but for the last two or three years, the jobbers have got only six or eight pounds an acre, and can with difficulty find employment for their gangs at that rate. These jobbers used to make fortunes in a short time; as a slave, by his labour, would in three or four years gain for his owner more than his prime cost. But it

e supposed that the Negroes have a great antipathy to old to these jobbing gentlemen; for, independent of the ial heavy labour, they are obliged to be almost altogether rom their own huts (which, though poor, are far better ie temporary ones) and grounds, except a few Saturdays Sundays: their poor children also must be neglected, and ttle stock lost or gone astray. So great is the objection ive of being sold to jobbers, that I have known many of un away to avoid it: a long time often intervenes before an be recovered; and it is not a trifle that will make a run the risk of getting imprisoned, with two or three rs into the bargain, or perhaps get transported from the for life. These jobbing gangs have been compared, very to over-wrought or over-driven horses: the poor slaves bing them may certainly, without exaggeration, be com- to the London hacks. A double price is paid for them, ey are worked so very much that they do not last long. *d* versus *life*.' (51, 52.)——This statement shews clearly, is that high prices operate in increasing the labour and hing the comforts of *jobbing gangs*. The price of their being raised by temporary and accidental circumstances, wner is tempted to compress more of that labour into a pace—*in short, to make hay while the sun shines*—even at ense of over-driving his slaves, and exposing to risk both ealth and life. Estimating the work of a gang at an acre , the income of a single year, at 10*l*. an acre, would be ; at 6*l*. an acre, 1,800*l*.,—the difference being no less 200*l*. And if, by additional exaction, and the abridg- f the time usually allowed the slaves, the jobber had it ower to add fifty acres more to the tale of their labour, he thereby raise his income to 3,500*l*.; whereas at 6*l*. the egree of exaction could only raise his income to 2,100*l*. uld obviously, therefore, afford to kill more slaves in the than in the latter case, and would therefore be more y tempted to overwork them, especially as he would fear her rate might be but temporary. And is not this exac- labour a direct effect of high prices?—And let it not be ed that this effect is confined to jobbing gangs. It ex- o the slaves universally. The proprietor of a sugar estate as much tempted to overwork his Negroes, when the sugar is high, as the jobber is when the price of holing of land is high; while, on the contrary, when prices are d little or no profit is to be made by overworking his as compared with the loss of health or life which may be sequence, he will feel it to be his interest rather to spare roes, with a view to their increase and improvement, hazard the loss caused by overworking them, without an nt. There may, it is true, be benevolent individuals

whom no temptation could induce to oppress their slaves. But it cannot be doubted, that, in the mass of instances, the effect would be as has been stated.

XVII.—*page* 141.

Fragments of letters which reached me on this occasion are subjoined.

'You are not the first man,' wrote a clerical friend, 'who has found himself embedded in a bad system; always struggling to be free, but with vain and desultory efforts. What does Dr. Johnson say of Father Paul Sarpi? "His detestation of the corruption of the Roman Church appears in all his writings, but particularly in this memorable passage of one of his letters: *There is nothing more essential than to ruin the reputation of the Jesuits: by the ruin of the Jesuits Rome will be ruined; and if Rome is ruined, religion will reform of itself.*" Yet this man died in the communion of the detested church! "Why he chose," says Dr. Campbell (Lectures on Eccl. Hist. iii), "to continue in that communion, as I judge no man, I do not take upon me to say. As little do I pretend to vindicate it. Certain it is, that as no man was more sensible of the corruptions and usurpations of that church, no man could with greater plainness express his sentiments concerning them. In this he acted very differently from those who, from worldly motives, are led to profess what they do not believe. Such, the more effectually to disguise their hypocrisy, are commonly the loudest in expressing their admiration of a system which they secretly despise."—My next example is Bishop Burnet; who says, in the *third* edition of his Pastoral Care, "Our Ember Weeks are the burden and grief of my life.....These things pierce one's soul, and make me often cry out, Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away, and be at rest!" He writes precisely to the same effect, in the Conclusion to the History of his Own Times. Yet Burnet held his bishopric six-and-twenty years, and to his death.—The question for you to investigate and *apply* is, Was Father Paul justified in remaining a Papist; Burnet in retaining his mitre? I have no doubt, but that the Venetian did the Christian church excellent service by his History of the Council of Trent, and other writings; and that Burnet raised the character and influence of our own church beyond all the prelates of his day. But this concession does not decide the question at issue; which, in the case of the Bishop of Sarum is, —*not*, whether the ordination system was bad in itself; but whether *his estimate* of it was a signal for his retirement from the episcopate.——And this leads me to a third example, in the person of Archbishop Leighton; who—as it is well known—

; himself entangled with men who embarrassed all his de-
actually gave up his archbishopric, and retired into private
lead what Burnet says about this in his History.——As to
urth instance—namely, Mr. Newton, who was once a slave-
—observe his own account: "I am bound in conscience
e shame to myself by a public confession; which, how-
ncere, comes too late to prevent or repair the misery and
ef to which I have formerly been accessary."—It seems,
er, that this eminent person offended unknowingly. He
: "I was unexpectedly freed from this disagreeable ser-
Disagreeable I had long found it; but I think I should
uitted it sooner, had I considered it, as I now do, to be
ul and wrong. But I never had a scruple upon this head
time (from 1745 to 1754); nor was such a thought once
ted to me by any friend. What I did, I did ignorantly;
ering it as the line of life which Divine Providence had
d me; and having no concern, in point of conscience, but
t the slaves, while under my care, with as much humanity
gard to my own safety would admit."'
ur difficulty'—said another friend, then resident at Ox-
' reminds me of a story, current among us here, of a great
who afterwards rose to very considerable preferment in
urch. He was asked to sign the Cambridge petition
subscription to the Articles; but declined to do so, alleg-
at *he was too poor to keep a conscience.* This does very well
gh at, in the common room, over port and oranges;
lly as the person in question was not an Oxford man; for
e are all as orthodox as possible.—But your inquiry is a
rious one. On how many subjects are we compelled to
w to ourselves! I say this from experience; as I scarcely
nsulted a casuist on any moral nicety of my own, but he
his counsel by saying, that there was a narrow path be-
the two sides of the argument which I must discover and
for myself; and that this was not to be done by proxy.
egard to your connection with Jamaica, I wish you had
one thither—an unmeaning wish; and now, knowing as I
evil you prevent, and the good you occasion, I dare not
you home. Yet who can justify a man who upholds
?—Then, what will become of the bondsmen, if you de-
em?—So you see upon what billows of difficulty you are
After all, the heart is the best casuist,' &c. &c.
ie unsatisfactory statements may furnish hints for the
s consideration. I have endeavoured, as I trust, rather to
s a confessor of what I have done wrong, than as at all
: to justify it. I met the other day with an extract from
of the late Rev. Thomas Scott, which may apply to the
; inquiry:—'I like much Mr. ——'s Sermon on Mr.
but nothing of defect is admitted: it is too unqualified

praise: it tends to make me despond; and it led me to say, Some persons will, ere long, tell lies of me also. I admire Mr. Milner's plan about Mr. Howard; state debtor and creditor. If we have any thing good about us, there is a set-off; and it is best that it should be in some measure stated.' (Life of Scott, 7th ed. 429.)

XVIII.—*page* 144.

Mr. Steele's experiment (1783–1790) is described, as abridged from Mr. Clarkson's account, in the pages of an excellent publication, entitled, "The System; a Tale of the West Indies,' 1827. 204–206.—See also 'Review of the Quarterly Review,' &c. 1824. 50–54.

The Honourable Joshua Steele coming into possession of three estates in Barbadoes, at the advanced age of seventy-nine years, went over for the purpose of trying how far the condition of his poor slaves might be ameliorated, preparatory to emancipation. He was spared, in the full enjoyment of his faculties, for nine years; and lived to enjoy the most decisive success from his benevolent exertions. The progress of his plan was, briefly, as follows:—

1st. He took from the drivers their whips, and deprived his overseer of all arbitrary power. The latter immediately resigned his situation, and the former were soon dismissed for their refractory conduct under the loss of their whips: he erected instead a magistracy out of the Negroes themselves, and established a trial by jury among them, which fully answered his most sanguine expectations.

2d. He introduced the practice of voluntary labour, and at a trifling premium; by which means he found the Negroes worked with alacrity, and contrived not only to earn their day's wages, but to secure an hour for themselves in the evening, by increased application to their tasks.

3d. He erected his estates into manors, and registered every adult male slave a copy-holder, assigning to him a tenement of land sufficient to produce what was necessary to furnish his family with food and clothing: a privilege liable to be forfeited on any instance of flagrant misconduct. He then established a regular system of rent and wages: putting a rent upon each tenement, which he valued at so many days' labour; and another rent on the personal service due by each slave to his master; against which he set a daily allowance of pay to the copy-holders for the work which they were to do: allowing them in each year forty-eight days, beside Sundays, to themselves. Tools were furnished, and lent to the labourers; and they had the option of receiving their wages, either in cash, or in necessaries;

the chief part of which were valued at the most moderate market price; all being entered with great simplicity and exactness in books which checked each other.

Such were the broad outlines of an admirable plan; and what was the result?—1st. From the stimulus thus applied, his Negroes performed the work of cultivation at one-fourth part of the expense formerly incurred: they no longer counterfeited sickness, or remained sullen under a violent punishment: but, incited by the reward, flocked to their tasks, and wrought with emulation: thus constituting a vast saving of time otherwise lost, and money expended in the hospitals.—2dly. By the promptitude of his labourers, Mr. Steele always saved the season: all was done in its proper time, and always ensured him a full crop, where his neighbours, under the old system, lost half theirs by the backwardness of their gangs.—3dly. The watchmen, paying for all losses happening on their watch, were alert in duty: and the plantation which, from the scantiness of its produce, through wasteful inattention, had bought yearly several hundred baskets of corn, yielded a surplus of all descriptions of provisions; and that surplus, sold at a high price, formed a most important source of profit.——To conclude; for every 100*l.* annually cleared at the first period of these reforms, 345*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were cleared when all came fully into operation. Before the whips were taken away, in *three* years and three months there were fifteen births and fifty-seven deaths. After the change of system, in *four* years and three months the births were forty-four, the deaths forty-one; of which latter ten were of superannuated men and women; while in the same interval the clearance of the estate was above *three times more than it had been for ten years before.*'——Some detached parts of Mr. Steele's plan were virtually adopted, indeed, at the Lagoon; but one essential portion of his system was never introduced there—namely, the stimulus of *wages;* and, of course, there was a correspondent disposition to inactivity, even among our most steady Negroes; while the others were conscious of the reign of terror, still administered by the whip, with whatever leniency and impartiality. 'The selfish principle,' says the authoress of *The System,* 'is as active beneath a black skin as a white;'—but I will add, not more so. In either case no man will work for nothing, unless compelled. Where there is a remuneration, labourers of all colours can be equally industrious; however langüid at a sugar-mill in Jamaica, or at a tread-mill in England; though superintended by drivers and turnkeys.

After all, I cordially adopt the sentiments of the late Bishop Horsley, when he said: 'Even if I were to allow, that the slaves in the West Indies receive, from the liberality of the planters, all the alleviations which their condition will admit, yet I would

say, that *they cannot be otherwise than miserable*; for, if you were to pamper them with the most exquisite delicacies, or put them to rest on a bed of roses, *a slave will still be a slave.*' (Speech in the House of Lords; June 10, 1806.)—In the same address his Lordship observes, 'When we come down to Christianity,' from the antecedent dispensations, 'we find that dealers in slaves are held among the worst of the human race. St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy *, tells us what the dealers in slaves are, and who are their companions. The slave-dealers are called *stealers of men*, ἀνδραποδισταὶ or ἀνδραποδισταὶ and their companions are liars, perjurers, murderers, parricides, and perpetrators of unnatural crimes!'

XIX.—*page* 148.

I shall not, for instance, state what *manumissions* took place among our own slaves; but cite what Mr. Bickell generally says, in reference to Jamaica, respecting the oppression exercised against such Negroes as wish to emancipate themselves. He writes,—'If an industrious Negro, in a favoured situation, saves a little money, the sum demanded for his freedom is, in most instances, so enormous, that it is but seldom effected. In many cases, where free Brown or Black men have been connected with female slaves, they have had a wish to purchase their freedom out of love to the wife, as she is called, or, if she be a mother, perhaps to the child or children also; but so much has been demanded, that they have been obliged to relinquish the idea. With one instance of this kind I was well acquainted, as it happened in Kingston. A free man had lived with a Black female slave belonging to a certain White lady, and much desired to purchase her, that he might give her freedom and marry her. He applied to the mistress, who did not altogether object to selling the young woman, but demanded so great a sum for her, that the poor fellow could not raise so much, even by selling all he had. The common price of a good domestic female slave was then from 100*l.* to 130*l.* currency: but how much do you think, this lady asked for this female, who wished to be married to the man she loved? Why, the sum of 200*l.* currency! at least 70*l.* more than she was worth. Nor could she be prevailed upon to sell her for less, although assailed by the prayers of the lover, and the tears of his mistress: so that she was neither emancipated nor married, for the man did not like to marry a slave; but she was allowed to live on in the same wicked way; though,

* 1 Tim. i. 9, 10.

had an equitable sum been demanded, she would have been emancipated, and her children (now slaves and bastards) would have been free and legitimate. This is not a solitary case; it often occurs; and in many instances they will not sell a valuable slave on any terms.—There is a much greater liberality in this respect in the Spanish colonies, where emancipation cannot be withheld from slaves on certain sums being offered, and on other certain conditions; there being fixed laws on this head. But in our colonies there is no inducement held out; for the slave is a complete chattel, a mere machine impelled by the whip, as the master has the power of perpetual possession. However deserving or fortunate the slave may be, in being steady and industrious, and having friends and a little money, it avails nothing; for, if the owner choose, he or she must die in bondage. Indeed, being good and industrious would, in nine cases out of ten, rivet his chains more tightly; for the more he does, the more valuable he is, and therefore the less likely to be parted with. Go to any estate, and offer a fair sum for a worthless Negro, he or she would be readily and gladly sold to you. Offer a good price for an ingenious tradesmen, a hard-working, steady field Negro, or an interesting young female, and say that you wish to make them free, the owner or manager would reply, "No, sir; these are some of my most valuable slaves; I would not part with either of these men for more than his value. And as to that young woman, sir; she will work as well as any man I have; she is likely also to have a large family. I cannot spare her for any sum!" ' (32–37.)

But, say, the advocates of slavery, if the Negroes are manumitted, they will ruin us by pauperism. Yet it appears, from the Parliamentary Papers of May 9, 1826, that, in a population of free Blacks and people of Colour amounting to from 80,000 to 90,000, throughout all the islands, only 229 persons have received any relief, however small, as paupers; being about one in each 370 persons; and exhibiting altogether an example of ease and independence, not to be paralleled in any other part of the British dominions, or among any other class of his Majesty's subjects. What says the Rev. Mr. Bridges on this subject? ' The free Negro and Coloured population of these colonies are a slothful race, living without labour or means; they ' merit your commiseration, and should elicit your sympathy.'— ' In age or incapacity, they are exposed, without resource, to all the want and misery, which close a life of unrestrained indolence, apathy, and vice.'—And these 229 persons have been *all* the paupers relieved from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, a period of five years!

' The lower *Whites* of Barbadoes are without exception the most degraded, worthless, hopeless race I have ever met with in my life.'—As to certain Whites called the Tenantry (attached

by law to every estate in the same island), 'the greater part of them live in a state of complete idleness, and are ignorant and debauched to the last degree. Whole families of these free Whites depend for their subsistence on the charity of the slaves. Yet they are as proud as Lucifer himself.' (Coleridge, 305, and 286.)

XX.—*page* 159.

A well-digested statement of what is very briefly related in the text may be found in Brown's 'History.' ii. 73–90.—In the same excellent work, is also an abridged account of the Moravian missions in the West Indies, from 1732 to 1821. i. 347–548.—In a tabular view, by the Bishop of Jamaica (October 1825), of the state of his diocese, we find that, for the accommodation of a population which, including all classes, amounts to about 40,000, there are churches and chapels belonging to the Establishment capable of containing only about 11,500 individuals. This is exclusive of Baptist, Methodist, and Moravian meeting-houses. The schools for the education of free persons contain nearly 700 scholars; being about one in eighty or ninety of the free population. The Bishop does not state that there are any schools for the slaves.

The following extract from the St. Vincent's Gazette of May 20, 1826, may illustrate the obedience paid to the new Bishop of the Leeward Islands:—'We understand that the Lord Bishop has signified his intention of paying this island a second visit in two or three weeks, although we see no preparations making for his reception or accommodation. We cannot imagine to ourselves the surprise and disappointment that will be felt by his Lordship on his arrival, to find, that, of the various measures of improvement, or addition, to our clerical establishment, suggested by him on his first visit, not one has yet been carried into effect; no additional place of worship provided; no school establishment provided; or means devised for giving additional impulse to the moral or religious feelings of the lower classes: in short, that we are precisely in the same state his Lordship left us, except, as one of our correspondents has lately suggested, considerably worse, no doubt, from the combined inroads of time and negligence.'

Accounts from Demerara, of the 25th of December, mention that the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes had proposed several improvements as to the treatment of the slaves, and as to giving them some instruction in reading, &c. which the local authorities have rejected.

A copy of a memorial from the proprietors and representatives

of estates at Demerara and Essequibo, to the Governor of the colony, on the subject of the opposition made to the plans of the Bishop of Barbadoes for affording instruction to the slaves, has been received, the object of which appears to be to remove any prejudice which may have been excited against the colonists by their conduct. They attribute to the Bishop (of whom they speak respectfully) a want of information as to what had been done for the instruction of the slaves. They object to the intervention of catechists (who it was proposed should visit the slaves on week-days) as to the introduction of a third influential party between master and slave; they object to instruction being given on a week-day, till a fair trial of instruction on the Sabbath has been made; they object to the formation of a branch of the Christian Knowledge Society, on the ground of the diversity of religious opinions in the colony; and they assert that the expense of the extended religious establishment will be more than they can 'well bear in this season of unexampled distress.' They express their readiness to purchase and distribute among the slaves such books as are recommended by the parish clergy.

XXI.—*page* 160.

Article XXVI.—Many years ago a colonial clergyman used to come to a certain plantation on Sunday afternoons, and desire the manager to collect eight or ten slaves to be baptized. They were brought before him. He began the office of baptism. When he had read to that part of the service where he was to sprinkle them, if their former name pleased him he baptized them by it; otherwise, he gave them the first Christian name which occurred. This minister being asked what end he had in this superficial ceremony, frankly replied, 'he was paid for doing it; it did the creatures no harm; and when they died, he should be paid for burying them.' Some of the baptized would mutter, and say they desired not the parson to throw water in their face. (Ramsay, 159, 160.) This, however, is an old story.—But where is the essential difference between this mode of baptism, and the existing practice in Jamaica? 'To-day,' says Mr. Cooper (59), 'the rector came to our house and baptized the slaves belonging to the estate. He performed the ceremony in about three hours, and thus upwards of three hundred people were made members of the Christian church, without, however, understanding any thing of the Christian religion. Many of the people manifested the greatest indifference, and would not, I am convinced, of themselves have come forward to receive baptism; they were told that the minister was ready to christen them, and that they might therefore go to him. About fifty remained at

home; and one woman, who brought her children, refused to be baptized herself, and gave as a reason for refusing, that she could not leave off cursing.'—Another rector describes his success (June 16, 1817) in these terms: 'Since the passing of the Curates' Bill, I have baptized, upon an average, fifty or sixty every Sunday; so that, with what were baptized previous to the passing of the said bill, the great majority of the Negroes in this parish (Portland) are become Christians, and in a very short time all will be so.'—Another clergyman writes: 'The population of my parish may be 24,000 slaves: 10,000 have been already baptized. Preparatory measures for the speedy baptism of the whole are now adopting. The fee is now established by law at 2s. 6d. for each slave. I am desirous of discharging my duty most fervently.' (Parliamentary Papers, June 10, 1818.)—Much more, and even worse than this, might be cited; were the details shorter, Mr. Bridges' statements will recur to the reader. It has been calculated that this system of baptism might cost the Jamaica Proprietors about 40,000*l.*

THE END.

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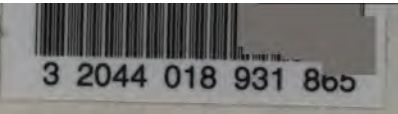
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